THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS IN DISRAELI'S TRILOGY

Leslie J. Gove Master's Thesis 1948



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THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS

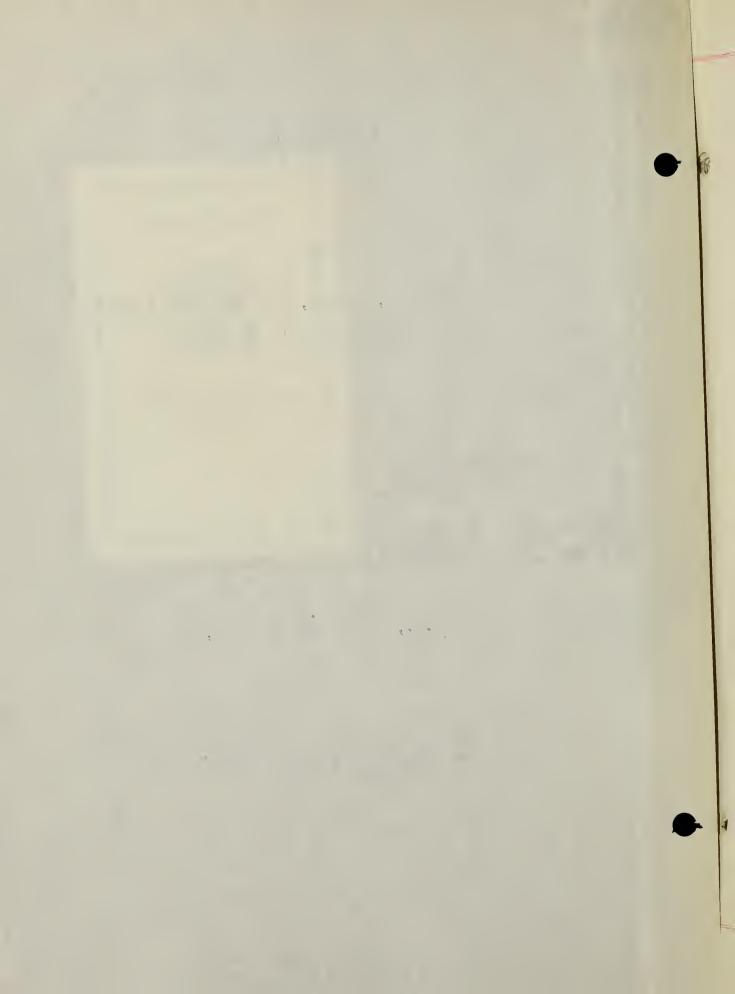
IN DISRAELI'S TRILOGY

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Foreword	Page
.i. •	TOTEWOLD	Т.
II.	Life: To Time of Trilogy	3
III.	Early Literary Character	18
	A. In Satires B. In Political Pamphlets C. In Poetry D. In Novels	
IV.	His Philosophies in His Trilogy	31
	A. Political: Coningsby	31
	1. Foreword 2. Purpose 3. Political Elements	
	B. Social: Sybil	61
	1. Foreword 2. Purpose 3. Social Elements	
	C. Religious: Tancred	87
	1. Foreword 2. Purpose 3. Religious Elements	
V •	Conclusion	115
VI.	Abstract	118
VII.	Bibliography	121

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PREFATORY NOTE

The influence of environment has no little effect upon the majority of men because circumstances of heritage, birth, and religion prescribe their thoughts and actions. Yet, in the study of great men one marvels that there are those who, because of inherent qualities and profoundness of soul, surmount the trials and tribulations of fateful conditions to rise above their circumscribed limits and perpetuate their names among the glorious pages of history.

Nineteenth Century England contributed in no small way her share of illustrious names. Among these there was one who, despite encumbrances of background, grasped at every opportunity and obtained power to wield decrees of state less for personal glory than for the welfare and fortune of the country he adored. As he ascended each rung of the ladder - for his was a life the envy of lesser men - he became the symbol of principles which were to be the embodiment of English politics and institutions.

No more fitting words than those of Tennyson can more aptly describe Benjamin Disraeli:

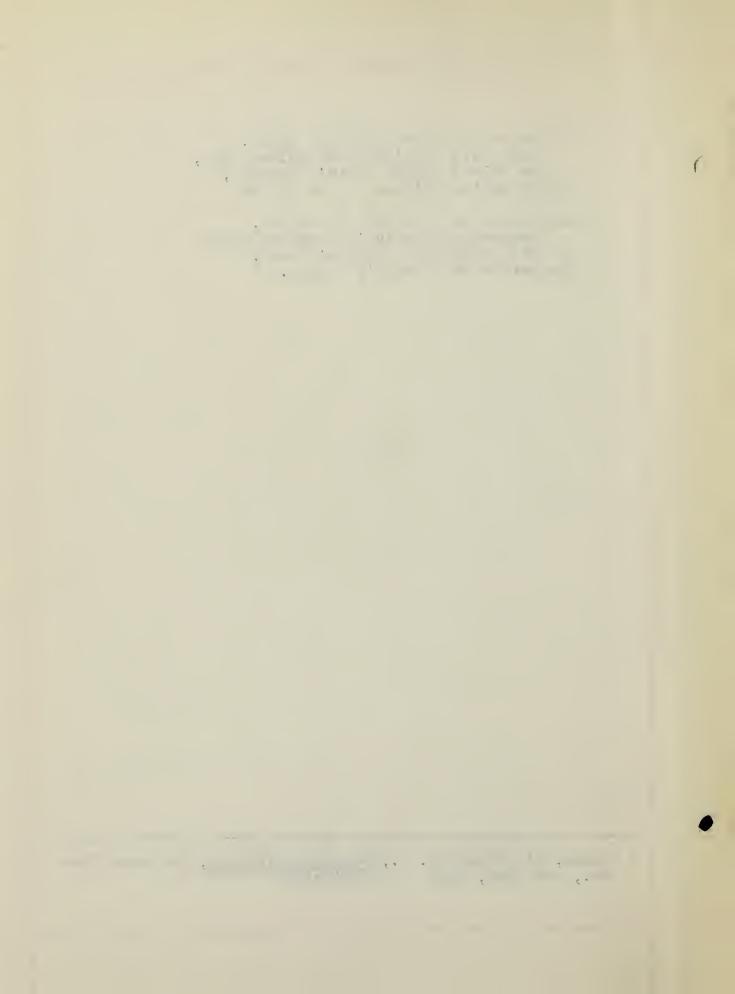
Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breaks the blow of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil star;

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Who makes by force his merit known,
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To mold a mighty state's decrees,
And shape the whisper of the throne;

And moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire.

¹ Clarke, Sir Edward K. C., Benjamin Disraeli, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1926 Frontispiece



FOREWORD

The object of my thesis is to show Benjamin Disraeli's concern with politics, his life long application to the work of government, the struggle that raged within him during his early years for a political or literary career, and the manner in which his views are applied in his literary works. It is my purpose to verify by means of the three books of the trilogy, Coningsby, Sybil, and Tancred, the author's endeavors to bring to light the political, social, and religious state of England. It is also my aim to reveal the deep interest of Disraeli in government and the strong influence this interest exerts upon the pages of each book.

The method I shall follow is to assign at the outset a part to the lineage and youthful years of the author, his early experiences, his political adventures, and his first ten years in parliament. Part two is concerned with his early literary character, illustrating his varied and unrestrained desires, ambitions, influence, and position in the realm of satires, political pamphlets, poetry, and novels. The remaining phase of my work contains one part which is divided into three sections on his trilogy, Coningsby, Sybil, and Tancred. Before the actual work of each part is begun, I shall include the purpose of the author. I shall then treat the main subject by definite and exact illustrations and references.

1 e e 4 . ę · ! And the second s the same of the sa All my work on each part of the trilogy has been confined to novels themselves. I have not made recourse to secondary matter as I have done with the first two parts of my thesis, but have relied mainly and primarily upon my own abilities of originality and interpretation.

The remaining part of my endeavors is an abstract of the entire thesis.

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EARLY EXPERIENCES

Benjamin Disraeli was born of Hebrew parents in London on December 21, 1804. His forebears, who dwelt for years in the Mediterranean area, found refuge in Venice during the declining years of the fifteenth century after their expulsion from Spain by the Inquisition. His grandfather of the same name reached London in 1748 to seek his fortune and met with success in both marriage and finance.

The young Disraeli's father, Isaac, was respected among men of letters and well known for his <u>Curiosities of Literature</u> and <u>The Life and Reign of Charles I</u>. This admiration was not shared by the Jewish Congregation from whom he had rejected the office of Warden. To his mother, Maria Basevi, daughter of a progressive architect, also of Jewish-Italian ancestry, may be attributed a prejudiced attitude against her own kind.

Many times both parents discussed problems confronting the Jews and the Christians. In 1817, at the age of thirteen when boys of his own faith receive Confirmation, Benjamin became a convert to Christianity. His two brothers, Ralph and James, had just preceded him, and a sister, Sarah, also entered the Anglican Church shortly after. Another brother, Naphtali, had died in 1807.

A heritage such as Benjamin's had no little effect upon

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his personality. From his grandfather he had inherited those commercial qualities that led him in his early twenties into financial adventures, and from his father those characteristics that made him at once a prolific reader, a student of poetry and of nations, and finally, a master of human nature. The influence of his mother upon his career was much less a factor. His sister once wrote him as follows:

. . . Only your magic pen could have so grouped materials which seemed so scant into a picture full of interest for all the world , . . Everything is in it - everything at least but one. I do wish that one felicitous stroke, one tender word had brought our dear Mother into the picture.

When six years old Benjamin started his formal education first at Islington, 'for those days a very high-class establishment', at the head of which was a Miss Roper, and then at Elliot Place, Blackheath, under the Rev. John Potticany.

The next four years, 1815 - 1819, Disraeli spent at Epping Forest under the guidance of the Unitarian Minister, the Rev. Eli Cogan. Here he obtained that thorough foundation in classical literature that enabled him to bear well his oratorical career in later years. Here it was also that his classmates discovered a personality on the one hand bold, audacious, ingenious, and on the other dreamy and imaginative:

He was perpetually plunged in reveries which absorbed his being, and in which he acted the chief part in dazzling dramas of action. Now he was heading an army

Monypenny, W. F., The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1916, P. 12

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and leading a forlorn hope; now he was controlling empires or destroying dynasties; and then suddenly he would return to everyday sports in which he schooled himself to excel.

This strange behavior and the fact that he was of the Jewish faith led to rebuffs and derogatory remarks from his fellow students. He became extremely sensitive and uncomfortable. Because of his psachological reactions to remarks of this kind he became dissatisfied with school life and he left at the age of fifteen.

He remained at home the following two years from 18191821. He found his father's library a source of strength
which in one way satisfied his insatiable desires to fathom
the mysteries of life. He soon discovered, however, that to
know man one must associate with man. "His reading had taught
him many great minds have failed because they have wanted to
think alone and disdained the study of the mass of men. It
was essential on the contrary to mix with the herd, to enter
into its feelings, and humour its weaknesses."²

In November, 1821, he began for a period of three years his clerical duties in preparation for a legal profession at Messrs. Swain and Stevenson, Fredericks Place, in old Jewry, where his work was of such promise his employers saw an excellent future for him as a barrister. To a young man who believed destiny reserved a higher place than a lawyer could

Sichel, Walter, Beaconsfield, E. P. Dutton, & Co., New York, 1904, P, 13

2 Maurois, Andre, Disraeli, Modern Library, Random House, New York, 1928, P.23

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possibly attain, such a career had little appeal. He was restless and uneasy, his mind revelled in lofty thoughts, he wanted to become a great man, and he longed to mimic a Byron or a Shelley for whom he possessed unbounded reverence.

It should be noted that the Industrial and French
Revolutions had set in motion in the latter part of the eighteenth century a new way of life. Discoveries as a consequence of scientific and industrial inventions created new fields of activity and new horizons of thought for all people and in particular the common man. Because of the impact of steam,
England experienced a tremendous upsurge in the material world and had been transformed from an agricultural to an industrial nation. In the political arena the word, suffrage, was in common usage, and the average man insisted upon and fought for greater economic and social security.

In the first 40 years of the nineteenth century the literature of this period marched hand in hand with the spirit of the times. The literary figures were known as the romantic writers who reflected these changes in their works. The thoughts and aims of the author took precedence over the form, and he was deeply interested in the feelings, experiences, loves, and hopes of men. The romanticist was optimistic in the future and sympathetic to the down trodden and destitute. The personality of the author was revealed throughout the pages of romantic literature. The writer himself, at times with a

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revolutionary spirit, endeavored to excite man to right the wrongs of the world. The great advances of science and the beauties of nature disclosed to the uncircumscribed, lofty spirit of the romantic. the powers and glories of God. He was opposed to the material and scientific doctrines that introduced the theory of evolution which rejected the truths of the Bible. The literature of this period reflected also the many parliamentary changes that had taken place for the extension of the franchise and freedom of the common man. The romanticist constantly endeavored to penetrate the mysteries of the world and expressed himself in the manner that best suited him. "As Romanticism endeavors to express what is strange and mysterious in the life of the spirit, it naturally seeks its material in the past and feels itself especially in sympathy with the Middly Ages, when the aspirations of the spirit. its love of adventure and sense of the mysterious expressed themselves in quests for the Holy Grail, in crusades and gallant deeds of chivalry and knight-errantry. Thus a sympathy with the past, a new interest in humanity as such, marks Romanticism."1

As a leading literary figure of this period Disraeli was an ardent disciple of the romantic school. He attempted to reconcile with his temperament and imagination the materialism

¹ The Encyclopedia Americana, The Americana Corporation, New York, 1939, Vol. 23

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of his age. He visualized the past greatness of the medieval Church with all its pomp, dignity, and splendor that aroused his imagination. His Young England Party during the first decade of his political reign was an attempt to bring the ideals of Catholicism into the English Church.

He entered the Stock Exchange in November, 1824, and delved into speculative issues in South American mines. Subsequently in 1825 as a result of this experience he had made the acquaintance of one John Murray, publisher, who had interested him in newspaper work. "To have a newspaper . . . There lay power, power in an oblique form." The many ramifications Disraeli experienced in both finance and his newspaper work had ended in failure and in debt.

What may be disastrous in one phase of human endeavor may in another be successful and did become on Disraeli's part a success rarely achieved. He had entered the world of fashion in the home of the Countess of Blessington, as well known for her literary achievements as she was for her eminent rank among the highest of social circles. At this time Disraeli was young, tall, witty, and possessed a physiognomy strikingly Hebraic. His clothes were so ostentatious that it was said of him he dressed like a dandy -- "A black velvet suit with ruffles, and black stockings with red

¹ Maurois P.129

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clocks - which in those days was rather conspicuous attire."

His handsome figure was impressive and no less effective within feminine company. For, as a biographer says of one of his works:

Vivian Grey's 'devil of a tongue' made him popular with the ladies of his acquaintance, and he in his turn discovered that 'there is no fascination so irresistible to a boy as the smile of a married woman! 2

Among the many associations made here, who in no small way influenced the mind and career of Disraeli, were Bulwer Lytton, Lord Byron, Tom Moore, and the Duke of Richelieu.

Since early boyhood Disraeli had been fascinated by those lands of antiquity rich in history and romance. Therefore he set out to Spain in 1828 accompanied by his sister's fiance, William Meredith, whose demise occurred during the journey at Alexandria in 1830. There he witnessed the residue of what was once a great Moorish culture; in Italy he gazed upon the mighty relics of Christianity; in Greece he saw for the first time the area where Socrates and Plato had revealed to the world their incomparable teachings. He then traversed Turkey, and Cyprus, an island which he later obtained for England. The traveller then visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In the Holy Land he became immersed in thoughts of the glorious achievements of his race. It was here that the birth of the Christian religion took place; and here that the Vatican should rightfully reside. To him Christianity was merely the

I Monypenny P. 39

² Ibid. P. 40

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completion of Judaism. For his people not to have accepted these doctrines for 2000 years was something he failed to understand. Yet, when in later years he rendered an opinion on religion, he said, "Sensible men are all of the same religion. What is it? Sensible men never tell."

POLITICAL ADVENTURES

In 1832, his pilgrimage at an end, he returned to England amid the turmoil of the passage of the first Reform Bill. While here at Bradenham House, his father's new residence since 1825, he decided upon a political career. Despite the many vicissitudes of this calling he felt it the only means by which he could achieve greatness. He then presented himself at High Wycombe with a letter of recommendation from the revered Radical, Daniel O'Connell. He now for the first time openly announced his political policies which brought him little comfort for years to come. For the Whigs he had no sympathy, and though disposed toward the Tories he found they represented a party senile and weak. He was a Reformer and Radical to protect the best and to discard the worst that was in the Constitution. His philosophy at this time so new and creative. "I am neither Whig nor Tory. My politics are described by one word, and that is England" did not meet with the approval of

¹ Clarke P. 28

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the constituency and the majority of votes were in favor of his opponent.

At the General Elections in October, 1832, the electorate at Wycombe heard Disraeli, the Independent, the man who belonged to neither party, for a second time. He again voiced constitutional policies strongly conservative in nature, such as triemnial parliaments, vote by ballot, and a free press, the first of these according to Disraeli once supported in the preceding century by the greatest and ablest of all Tories, Lord Bolingbroke. He endeavored to align 18th century Toryism with conditions existent in England of 1832. To have returned in the guise of an independent Reformer and to have stressed at the same time what were in a sense Tory principles, was, to a people accustomed to party lines of Whig and Tory, a philosophy both new and inconsistent and he again left a defeated man.

In 1833, at Marylebone and then in the last of the following year at Wycombe he again became a candidate. In the first, little change had taken place as to his stand on the leading aristocratic parties. His speeches still smacked of anti-Whiggism and anti-Toryism, an attitude that helped very little though it turned out the expected vacancy did not materialize. In the second and third attempt here the outcome did not differ from his previous experiences.

It will be interesting to note, however, that during this year a friend of his, Mrs. Norton, whom he met at Bulwer

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Lytton's, had introduced him to Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister, who greatly admired this young man of ready wit, quick intellect, and unlimited ambition. When Melbourne inquired as to his future course in life, Disraeli returned with the retort: "I want to be Prime Minister. Melbourne gave a long sigh, and then said very seriously, 'No chance of that in our time!."

With these words still ringing in his ears he went down to Taunton in the spring of 1835 to oppose the re-election of the newly appointed Master of the Mint. Mr. Henry Labouchere. At this time Disraeli learned from his previous political adventures that to discard convention was more serious than he had realized. To achieve the fame he so sorely desired by means of a parliamentary career he must belong to one of the leading parties. And so at Taunton he was the Tory who defended himself against claims of inconsistency as a result of his change of political colors, and at the same time he attacked the Whigs with diatribes famous in English political history. In one instance there took place the famous verbal dual, one a speech by O'Connell in Dublin, the other a reply by Disraeli in the form of a letter. The young political aspirant had attacked O'Connell for his allignment with the Whigs as an act "base, bloody, and brutal".2

. . . He possesses just the qualities of the impenitent thief who died on the Cross, whose name I verily believe must have been Disraeli. 3

I Monypenny P. 254

² Sichel P. 38

³ Maurois P. 101

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To avenge his honor Disraeli challenged O'Connell to a duel. Since the challenge was refused, he fowarded another to his son, Morgan, who also declined. Disraeli replied to the latter in the following manner:

Mr. O'Connell, - Although you have long placed your-self out of the pale of civilization, still I am one who will not be insulted, even by a Yahoo, without chastising it.

However it was not characteristic of these two men to continue their personal animosities. On one occasion, Disraeli had called O'Connell a man of genius, and on another, after a speech by Disraeli on the Corn Laws in 1842, O'Connell had said it was the best he had ever heard in the House of Commons.

that the friendship of the Wyndham Lewises and particularly Mrs. Lewis, both of whom he had become acquainted with in April, 1832, at the Bulwer Lytton's, bore fruit. At her instigation he decided to seek the election at Maidstone in company with her husband. In this year Disraeli was the conservative Tory with principles he believed deficient in the present Tory party. The experiences of his previous campaigns had now rendered him that confidence and ability so necessary to victory. The final result was not in doubt and for the first time after five years of campaigns and elucidation of a political creed, Tory in principle, but Radical in reform, he returned with a majority.

Maurois, Andre; P. 102

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His life long ambition realized, Disraeli took his seat in Parliament upon a career which was to last for nearly four decades.

PARLIAMENTARY CAREER

On December 7, 1837, Disraeli, in the face of a hostile Whig party at that time in power and a Radical group of which he was not too fond, made his maiden oratorical attempt in the House of Commons on the Irish Election Petitions which was to prevent the return of certain parliamentary members. The speech, though admirable and though he was not shouted down, was, in the eyes of Disraeli, a complete failure. Messrs. Sheil, O'Connell's lieutenant, and Peel, the future Prime Minister, two of a number present, who respected the wit and sagacity of the speaker, saw in the speech potentialities of future eminence. Mr. Sheil, however, was not satisfied until he had given the novice personal advice that Disraeli used most advantageously in months to come.

During the parliamentary sessions of 1839 two events of principal importance had affected the future of the Maidstone representative. In July the Chartists presented their National Petition for alleviation of conditions of the poor industrial worker. With this multitude Disraeli was in complete sympathy. The Petition, to him, was the consequence of a social evil, the

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remedy of which was to be found only through the assistance of a leading landed aristocracy. This principle he made known in both his parliamentary debates and the second book of the trilogy, Sybil.

On August 28, 1839, Disraeli married Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, 15 years his senior and widow for a year of his former victoricus colleague at Maidstone. That her influence had a pronounced result upon him may be witnessed from his own words when he said, "Talk of fame and romance; all the glory and adventure in the world are not worth one single hour of domestic bliss."

Mrs. Lewis, in turn, just before her death once exclaimed to a friend that "her life had been a long scene of happiness, owing to his love and kindness."

In the year 1841 the Ministry of Lord Melbourne had fallen. Sir Robert Peel had become the new Prime Minister, and Disraeli was returned from Shrewsbury, one of the centers of conservative power. While Peel was forming his ministry, Disraeli applied on account of his party loyalty for recognition in the form of public office. His request never materialized because, it is believed, Lord Stanley, one of the most powerful figures in the administration who "had at this time, partly perhaps from dislike to his name and race, and partly because

¹ Clarke, P. 55

² Ibid., P. 56

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of a private difference which had never been fully explained,"1 refused to have Disraeli in the ministry.

For the next two years Peel had swayed somewhat from his Anti-Free-Trade policy upon which the conservative party had gained the victory in the election of 1841. Disraeli's loyalty to the cause of Protection was never questioned when in a speech on May 9, 1843 he said:

If I find the government seceding really from their pledges and opinions, - if I find them, for instance, throwing over that landed interest that brought them into power, - my vote will be recorded against them.²

In 1843, he again supported the Corn Laws, which upheld the duties on foreign imports for the protection of domestic agricultural products, against Peel whose commercial policy had undergone radical changes. His opinions on these laws were based on constitutional grounds. He wished to preserve the great foundation of the Constitution which he believed could best be served by Protectionist principles and from which he would and never did retreat. To him the well being of the industrial class and the farmer was no more essential than that of the landed aristocracy.

In this year came also the open assistance of the young England Party (composed of such leading names of the landed aristocracy as Lord John Manners, Smythe, and Baille Cocherane) that Disraeli founded because he saw in this younger generation

¹ Ibid., P. 62

² Ibid., P. 65

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the only hope of inculcating the principles of a party once dear, but now decrepit, hopeless, and selfish. With the arrival of the Irish Arms Bill, a policy of British government to quel by force Irish tendencies of revolt, this party became effective at a time when the antagonism of his party was no longer hidden but open. Together they attacked the course of the conservative party on this Bill not only as an infringement of old Tory policies but also as the act of withdrawing their pledges from constituencies that made their power in parliament possible.

In 1845 and 1846, the opportunities to voice his opinions on Ireland and Free Trade were many. In the first, his opinions, on the poverty stricken conditions and discord in Ireland were remarked upon by Gladstone as follows:

A more closely woven tissue of argument and observation had seldom been heard in the debates of this House. 1

In the second, Sir Robert Peel resolved to forego his Protectionist policy, and his announcement in January, 1846, of the repeal of the Corn Laws brought immediate hostility from both the members of his ministry and in particular Disraeli who never faltered to attack his opponent until the passage of these laws and the downfall of Peel. In all his speeches Disraeli not once referred to the non-acceptance of his application for recognition in the ministry of 1841.

In 1847, Disraeli again successfully sought a seat in Parliament from the county of Buckinghamshire. Now that his

¹ Clarke, P. 74

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policies were known in Parliament he was not at peace with himself until his basic philosophy was laid down and completed in the final book of his trilogy which saw the end of his first decade in Parliament.

EARLY LITERARY CHARACTER

IN SATIRES

Whether it was due to a natural part of his character or because he lacked the fundamentals of a university and scientific training, the fact remains he constantly fell into realms of fantasy and passion. He was not disposed to any forms of scientific rationalism and so held in contempt the doctrines of Utilitarianism. He desired very much to see the power of Manchester reduced and the return of leadership to traditional aristocracy. In the spring of 1828, "the Voyage of Captain Popanilla", his first satirical essay on politics, was introduced to the reading public. The work was dedicated to Plumer Ward who said that he had not read anything so witty and that it was equal to Candide. The contemporary social life and constitution of England were burlesqued. A discerning analyst will note the first seeds of the author's politics. To one of Disraeli's outlook the mental processes of man rather than scientific or material causes were the designers of human achievement. Possessed of a poetic nature and strong imagination he despised the followers of Bentham. These pages of satire

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reflected the author's anathema for the corrupt aristocracy, despotic political parties, and misguided people of England. He denounced utilitarian doctrines, and the claims made by science which he treated in the second book of the trilogy. In "Popanilla", therefore, he laid down ideas he used both in attacks at these doctrines and in future political conflicts against his enemies.

In 1832 and 12 months later, our author had recalled the classical training of his school days when he again revealed his satirical moods in "Ixion in Heaven" and "The Infernal Marriage" which were strongly representative of Lucian, an author he greatly esteemed. Herein he disclosed complex characteristics of Semitic and Voltairean spirit in a witty, gay, and flashy manner.

IN POLITICAL PAMPHLETS

In addition to the sarcasm and irony of his burlesques which showed signs of his political creed and personality, he made known his opinions in several pamphlets during his political adventures. "What is he?" explained that neither leading party was capable of carrying on the government. His words, "By what means are we to obtain a strong Government? We must discover some principles on which it can be founded," were

¹ Monypenny, P. 226

• . . 2 the precursors of a new National Party, the concepts of which were included in Coningsby.

He continued on December 16, 1834, in "The Crisis Examined", to elaborate his ideas. In one part, he defended reforms, and in the other, he upheld the opposition of the Reform Bill. The welfare of the agricultural interests took precedence over the demands of the Middle-class whose position in the life of England was now a formidable one as a consequence of the Whig triumph of 1832. On matters of the Church he "hopes to hear less of Church reform and more of Church improvement". The remedies of England's ills were found in principles rather than men. No party would have his support unless his measures were adopted.

In the memorable year of his conflict with O'Connell,
Disraeli decided to combine his speeches and articles in one
tract in defense of Tory precepts, a party he had now definitely joined, in his, "The Vindication of the British Constitution,
addressed to his loyal friend, Lord Lyndhurst. The object of
this effort was twofold: first, he treated the historical
background of the ancient aristocratic party, and secondly,
he attacked the Whigs for their Venetian commercialism and
their usurpation of power from the Crown and people. He
cherished the fond hope of a reorganization of Toryism similar
to that which took place in the eighteenth century under

¹ Ibid., P. 269

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Lord Bolingbroke, his ideal and counterpart who brought about the triumph of the King and aristocracy over the middle-class and Whiggism. Monypenny considers this to be "the most important of Disraeli's early political writings, and the fullest exposition of his political creed that preceded Coningsby; while even Coningsby, . . . added little that is essential to the statement."

In 1836 Disraeli joined Mr. Barnes, editor of The Times in his attacks upon the government of Lord Melbourne and O'Connell's alliance with the Whigs. On January 19, there appeared the first of the 19 "Runnymede Letters" to which his name was not affixed. As a result their authorship was left to conjecture. These letters addressed to leading members of the Government were complete with personal bias for the Whigs and kindness and homage for the Tories. 4e described Lord John Russell as one "born with a strong ambition and a feeble intellect", 2 and Sir Robert Peel as the "only hope of a suffering people."

As an appendage to the "Runnymede Letter", "The Spirit of Whiggism" was also published. His premises so fondly completed in the "Vindication" were again repeated in their entirety.

¹ Monypenny, P. 306

^{2 0&#}x27;Connor P. 146

³ Ibid., P. 146

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IN POETRY

The poetry at this period of Disraeli's life reflected the spirit of the common man. The rights and prerogatives of the poor were fully expressed by the uncircumscribed spirits of the poet. On the other hand, this phase of expression had found new ideas and a deep love of nature which was described in all its real and true beauty. This age of poetry depicted simplicity, sincerity, and genuineness; and it revealed deep signs of the spirit of freedom, rights of the common man, and a true and deep love of nature.

The influence of this extreme form of romanticism had made a great effect upon Diraeli. His unsettled, mysterious, and passionate desire to understand life beyond man's senses and experiences found expression in his poetry. The two great poets of the day, Shelley and Byron, were men he revered and the latter in the home of Disraeli was a household word. His imitation of Shelley and Byron was very significant, and his intense desire to emulate these two men is commented upon by Monypenny on Disraeli's novel Venetia:

^{. . .} they had a certain natural affinity of character and genius, alike in their strength and in their weakness. There is something in both of the same daemonic force, the same devouring ambition, the same disposition to coxcombry and affectation, . . . Disraeli had less in common with Shelley than with Byron; but in strange combination with Byron's ambitious egoism he had also something of Shelley's power of seeing visions of the future, and he had

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studied Shelley's poetry as closely as he had studied Byron's, . . Even the colloquy between Herbert and Cadurcis, in which Cadurcis by comparison is so flippant and unsatisfying, is derived almost word for word as regards Herbert's portion from Shelley's "Discourse on the Manners of the Ancients," a work then known to few.1

His poetry, to my mind, should be read as an analysis of the man rather than poetry as such. Thought he had written the "Modern Dunciad" in 1826 in the "Star Chanber" the number of its readers was limited.

However, he was not the man to retreat because of failure. Whatever he saw, visualized, or experienced, he put into writing. His travels had infused in him a love of historical places and names. He compared himself to the great men whose countries he visited. "England, during the Reform excitement, was surely the fitting place for the poet who had to write an epic on revolutions rivalling Homer's heroic epic. Virgil's political epic. Dante's national epic. and Milton's religious epic."2 His "Revolutionary Epic" of 1834 in three books was the result of these imaginative, fanciful, and poetic feelings. This work beyond any shadow of a doubt described the dual character of the author. He compared the two mighty continents of Asia and Europe both of which were contending for mastery of the earth. In them he depicted reverence for the past. Semitic sentiments, love of order and tradition. Despite these original and sincere qualities, according to Monypenny,

Monypenny, P. 362, 1916
MacKnight, Thomas, The Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli,
a literary and political biography. Bentley, London, 1854, P. 125

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the poem was not without effects of his study of Milton and Shelley, whom he imitated almost on the verge of plagiarism. Whatever its faults or good points his poetic ability ran far short of his expectation, for its reception by the public gave it little response.

His next poetic venture was in 1839 at which time he attempted a revival of English tragedy under the title of "Count Alarcos". After its publication it met the same fate as its predecessors. Years later when he became Prime Minister it had its first stage appearance in a theatre of little importance. The failure that followed was absolute proof that Disraeli was as poor a playwright as he was great a statesman. The object, therefore, of a study of this work would be to show the qualities of his many sided character.

IN NOVELS

The fiction of Disraeli, describes the man more than any other details of his life. In his late years, he said, "In Vivian Grey I have portrayed my active and real ambition."

This novel of two volumes, the first of a number written in his twenty-first year experienced a stormy reception because its publisher, Colburn, who feared its failure on account of the author's youth and inexperience concealed the identity of the

¹ Monypenny, P. 89

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writer. The creator of <u>Vivian Grey</u> disclosed the basic central thought of his first effort in the following lines taken from "The Merry Wives of Windsor":

' Why, then the world's mine oyster, Which I with sword will open.'

The episodes of the hero were merely reflections of the author's own life at home, in school, and in the world. Although the author had just attained his majority, an indication of limited acquaintance with worldly events, he skillfully portrayed the field of politics and society, two avenues of life he dreamed of traversing. The characters were merely fictitious names of real people for whom the reader sought keys to discover their identity and which in all probability enlivened the interest and enhanced the reputation of the book. Its value as a work of literary art lies in the first volume wherein sparkle. vivacity, and love of subject is found. However, in contrast. Monypenny says volume two is deficient in Vigor. coherence, and sincere inner feelings. The author seemed to hurry the book along for the purpose of finding some solution to the plot. Because the worth of the novel is found in its autobiographical features contained for the most part in volume one, the reader will find little to motivate a perusal of volume two. However, Disraeli had made his start which in all respects was a successful one.

While Disraeli was on his Eastern travels in 1831, his manuscript of The Young Duke, a novel of fashionable society,

e 1 ę ę ' . . L = 0 = = = was in the possession of the publisher, Colburn. The contents of the work were highly egotistical and sinful. Both Colburn and Bulwer Lytton, his dear and loyal friend, admonished him against its success. "The truth was that Ben was totally ignorant of dukes, but he found pleasure in describing receptions of royal splendour, regiments of footmen liveried in scarlet and silver, tables laden with gold plate, rivers of diamonds on the necks of women, ancestral sapphires and rubies darting their sombre fires, exquisite dishes, carriages laden with oranges and pineapples arriving from the hothouses of the young Duke, "1

He found satisfaction also in setting forth his political ideas. In Mary Dacre, a Roman Catholic and predecessor of the lovely and beautiful Sybil in the second book of the trilogy of the same name, Disraeli manifested his admiration of the old faith. The young duke won the heart of Mary only after he proclaimed himself in favor of Catholic Emancipation of which the author was also a proponent. His analysis of parliamentary oratory in both the Houses of Lords and Commons creates admiration on the part of the reader for one whose knowledge was so limited and at the same time gave forewarning of his future political course. This admiration was also carried over to a love of his grandfather's adopted country when he exclaimed, "Oh, England! Oh, my country - . . . I rejoice that my flying

¹ Maurois, P. 48

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fathers threw their ancient seed on the stern shores which they have not dishonoured: - I am proud to be thy child." His novel became an immediate success for he received many invitations to present himself among the nobility of society.

During his sojourns in the East he was quite active with his literary work, for he had written and then published upon his return to England Contarini Fleming in 1832 and The Wondrous Tale of Alroy in 1833. His travels were the inspiration of these two novels in which he described his own subjective reactions and their relation to the outside world. In the former he said, this "Psychological Romance is a development of my poetic character."2 His emotions, strongly in favor of a literary career, were equally partial toward a life of action. Of the two qualities, intelligence and imagination, the author was a life long proponent of the latter. He was temperamental, ambitious, emotionally high strung, and he was possessed of an imagination more pronounced than any other of his abstract attributes. With these powers he felt himself destined for the vocation of the poet. At the same time he was overpowered by his longing for an active life. From his many failures either literary or political he deduced the underlying philosophy which permeated the pages of Contarini Fleming:

I believe in that Destiny before which the ancients bowed. Modern philosophy, with its superficial

¹ Monypenny, P. 132

² Monypenny, .P. 182

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discoveries, has infused into the heart of man a spirit of skepticism, but I think that erelong science will again become imaginative, , . . all is mystery; but he is a slave who will not struggle to penetrate the dark veil.

Of all his visitations his entrance into the Holy City was one that awakened in him a fervor and sensitivity toward the history of his people that were never subdued and found solace in Alroy, "his Jewish romance" of prose poetry. all his works this novel had met with the least success because of its Asiatic mysticism which held little appeal to Westerners and its many descriptions that greatly detracted from the interest of the plot. He was magnetically attracted to this land from which, he believed, the core of civilization emanated. He recalled the Mosaic law "to be learned even now by every civilized child". 2 and Christ, to whom he referred in his art as the Hebrew prince, as a missionary who carried forth the laws of his people that in time intellectually conquered the peoples of Europe. In Tancred, the final book of the trilogy, he said. "Christianity is Judaism for the multitude." He extolled the celebrated past of the people from which he sprung, and he was so fond of his racial lineage that he determined to communicate these sentiments in a work of art. He chose for his subject the story of David Alroy of the 12th century known as the "Prince of the Captivity", who sought the

Maurois, P. 57
Brandes, Georg, Lord Beaconsfield, Richard Bentley and Sons,
London, 1880 P. 92
Jibid. P. 94

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emancipation of his people from their Turkish conquerors.

Like Alroy, Disraeli, had the same ideal ambition for the unified independent Jewish state. The essence of this ambition according to the best of all his biographers was as follows:

With all his dreaminess Disraeli's genius was far too practical to permit him to devote his life to the pursuit of a mere phantom; but it is probable that these early visions never wholly forsook him, They had a soil of genuine racial sentiment from which perennially to spring, and though it would be easy to exaggerate their significance, yet to know them is to get a glimpse into the inmost recesses of Disraeli's mind. Therein lies the value of Alroy for us now.

In 1836 and in 1937, our author directed his artistic energies from the political to the passionate when he wrote Henrietta Temple, 'A Love Story', and Venetia, an affectionate study of the lives of Byron and Shelley. In the first, he exposed the depths of his soul on a subject common to all mankind. Throughout these pages beamed a comparison between love and ambition, according to Dismaeli, the strongest of human sentiments. If the romantic emotions of man make dormant his aspirations, the author did not permit such a condition to remain. The sole purpose of love was to inspire and spur man on to greater deeds. He summarized this deduction with these words, "Few great men have flourished, who, were they candid, would not acknowledge the vast advantages they have experienced in the earlier years of their career from the spirit and sympathy of woman."

¹ Monypenny, P. 197

² Brandes, P. 164

* ¢ *** e e the state of the s e e e . • • In the other, Venetia, Disraeli desired very much to express his fondness for and to restore the blemished reputations of England's Byron and Shelley, whom he called "two of the most renowned and refined spirits that have adorned these our latter days." He had always felt that prejudice and bigotry rather than a just estimate of their characters detracted much from their reputations. Venetia, the daughter of Shelley and fiancee of Byron, was the means he employed to bring together these two poetic geniuses. The lives of both were factually mentioned but in many instances the personality of Disraeli was reflected in the actions and thoughts of the two poets whom he endeavored to mimic.

¹ Monypenny, P. 360

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CONINGSBY

FOREWORD

During the Peel administration of the forties there was a group of young men of the nobility and only recently out of Eton and Cambridge who were bound together by common political sympathies and known as the Young England Party. As strong adherents of the romantic school of thought, they were diametrically opposed to the tenets of Whiggism, which diffused in the realm a philosophy of utilitarianism as the ultimate aim and goal of man. As a result of their romanticism these youths who were in their early twenties desired a return to Roman Catholicism and a strong monarch. They believed that the welfare of the people could best be obtained by the loyalty of all to an independent sovereign and to a church commensurate with the state. Greatly attracted by the dynamic personality of Disraeli, they found him a leader and defender of the principles they themselves valiantly upheld in the House of Commons. In the autumn of 1843, as guests of Henry Hope at Deepdene, Disraeli and his followers discussed and debated upon the politics of the day. As a result of these conversations, our author started at the residence of his host and completed at Bradenham in a period of four months, Coningsby

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a political novel concerned with the origin and state of parties and characters who represented political ideas.

All the members of this New Generation together with many others who played important parts in contemporary politics and those who engaged in the history of their times under their real names were included. Philip Guedalla in "A Note On Coningsby" says:

They were all in it - George Smythe as Coningsby. Manners as Henry Sydney, Cochrane as Buckhurst. Lord Palmerston, reading novels in the comfortable shades of Opposition, sent an admirable key to his brother at Naples: 'You will recognise Croker in Rigby, Lord Hertford in Monmouth, . . . ! Millbank, erroneously identified by later readers as Gladstone, was a shadow of John Walter; . . and even a Rothschild was shrouded in the arch mystery of R----d. He took the stage himself as Sidonia, the pale brunet, whose aphorisms and horsemanship were equally above reproach. But the Selbstportrat was slightly composite, since his embodiment combined the familiar curls and manner with a banker's income, emerging from the blend as a financier of unusual gifts or a politician with still less usual finances - - as, inffine, Disrothschild.

Real figures abounded under their own names - the Duke with 'his curt, husky manner'; Peel, 'the great man in a great position, summoned from Rome to govern England'; . . . The book was a gallery of historical episode - of the hurry of the May Days in 1832, of 1834 fluttering in the Tory resurrection, of the Whig decline in the first years of the new reign, and Tory expectancy in 1841.1

Disraeli, Benjamin, Coningsby or The New Generation, Peter Davies, London, W. C. 1927 The Bradenham Edition, Frontispiece

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This method of fiction that Disraeli employed to disseminate his political philosophy and influence opinion, can be best understood by a knowledge of the purpose he set forth.

PURPOSE

In a review of Disraeli's literary and political career the reader will observe that he desired the happiness and amelioration of the conditions of the poor by means of a leading aristocratic party. In the decade with which our novel is concerned, Disraeli saw in the contention between parties that power and self-aggrandizement were the sole objectives. In the legislation of this period he felt that class was set against class with the result that the people were not as content as they anticipated by the Reform Bill of 1832, which sought improvement of their lot by general political suffrage.

Strongly influenced by the romantic and possessed of a powerful imagination and poetic nature, the author of Coningsby was enamored of all forms of ritualism and ceremony. He considered the imagination the strongest of man's faculties, and he revolted against the creed of the Whigs. The means employed by his adversaries to effect a passage of the Reform Bill to gain the ascendancy over the Tories were intolerable to one of his sensitive and romantic nature. He labeled the Whigs the "destructive party" who, if they had succeeded in

 overwhelming both divisions of parliament, would have ultimately destroyed the institutions and character of the nation.

At the same time, he found his own party composed of men who fought stubbornly to conserve what they had only yielded to reactionary forces of materialism from fear of revolution. He claimed that his party was without principle or creed and that it lacked the loyalty and faith of the people. They reacted against and surrended to the policies of their opponents merely to preserve themselves in power.

In the ensuing struggle between parties, the Church was an instrument to whichever group controlled the reigns of government, because its revenues, appropriated by the greed of the peers, had created a divided aristocracy who were in constant fear that sometime in the future they would be called upon to restore this treasure. To avoid this catastrophe they successfully brought about religious division and sectarianism, and as the leaders of these groups they exerted a powerful and detrimental effect upon the people to the extent that they "have in that time pulled down thrones and churches, changed dynasties, abrogated and remodelled parliaments; they have disfranchised Scotland, and confiscated Ireland."

It had become an institution controlled by a state commission for the benefit of a restricted aristocracy. In short, the established religious institution of the realm had

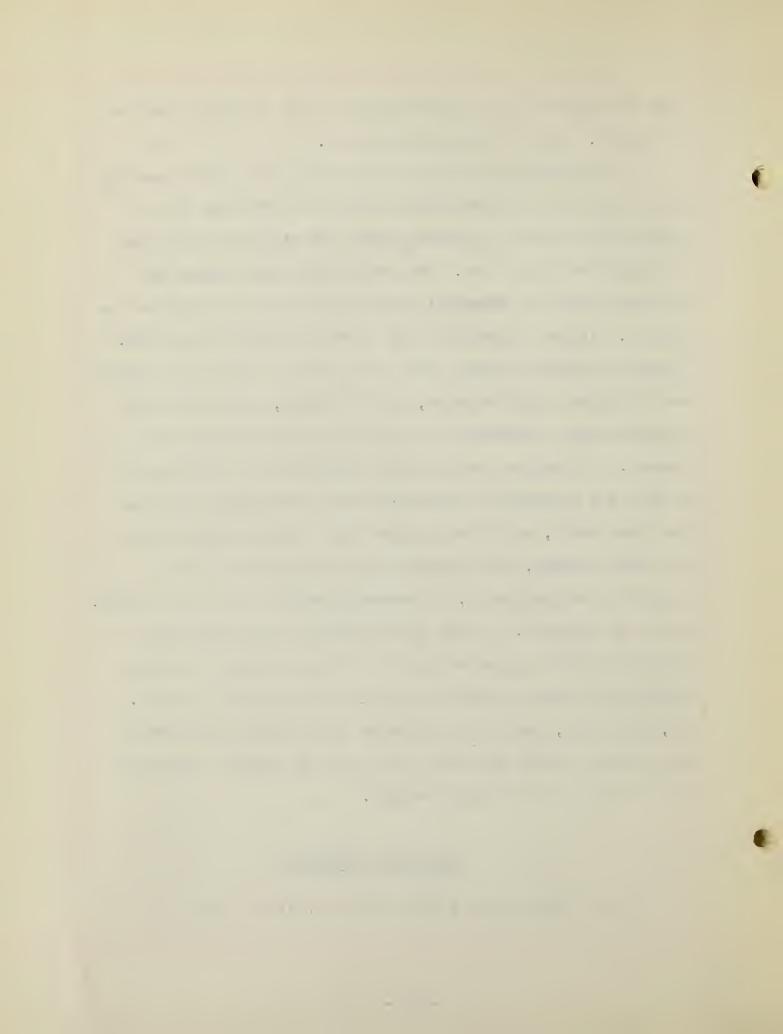
¹ Ibid., Bk. II, Ch. I, P. 79

- • - 1 . lost its character of universality and now existed, like his own party, without principle or creed.

The solution he desired for the evils that beset society of his day was a regeneration of the old Tory idea of a harmonious existence between Church and State with the King as leader of the latter. The position of both Church and Monarch was to be dependent upon the faith and loyalty of the people. In his analysis of the state of political parties, Disraeli discovered that there was a lack of political loyalty and religious faith because, for 150 years, the country had witnessed the enslavement by parliament of both sovereign and Church. If the Tory Party would return to the conditions of a free and independent sovereign and a Church the equal to the government, as it had existed under Lord Bolingbroke in the 18th century, the happiness of the people and the stability of government, so ardently sought for by our author, would be achieved. It was in this kind of interpretation Disraeli wished to prove that the Tories and not the "higs represented the national and popular party of the country. He, therefore, found it favourable in 1841 with the advent of the Tory regime to direct the minds of the New Generation to the idea of democratic Toryism.

POLITICAL EVERENTS

At the time Disraeli entered the political field he



found the state of political parties in England one of confusion and reaction. The Reform Bill was the cause of the alarm that aroused the nation. To have witnessed the passage of the Bill by means he deplored and by the party he detested, adversely affected the sensibilities of a man who from early youth was a Tory at heart. Years before he attained full maturity, he was engrossed in the study of politics which later had a major effect upon his literary productions. Though born a commoner of foreign origin, he had always felt that his race, like himself. possessed tendencies toward an aristocratic form of government and, in this conflict, would have exerted its energies in the cause of Toryism if persecution and bigotry were not the obstacles in the way. He constantly announced in his literary work and in and out of parliament that the traditional landed aristocratic party should rise once again to the great occasion confronting it, as it did in the 18th century, and restore itself to the power and prestige it formerly maintained. He painted a picture of the evils existent in both parties and he never retreated in his denunciation of such corruptions. He showed no partiality to either party and attacked without hesitation all who, in his opinion, were without principle, faith, or imagination.

He began his subject by reviewing and discrediting both Tories and Whigs, whose acts finally led to the passage of the first Reform Bill in June, 1832. This Bill, which had its

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major support in the House of Commons and the ministry in power under Lord Grey, was concerned with a revision of the enfranchising powers in both boroughs and counties. It was natural, therefore, that the House of Lords, who controlled the voting powers of these constituencies, became the major opposition against the Bill.

The Liberal or Reform party as the Whigs styled themselves had at this time a majority in the Lower House. The news on the Bill that emanated from both journals and the ministry "that Lord Grey was armed with what was then called a 'carte blanche' to create any number of peers necessary to insure its success" created much fear and uneasiness among the opposition who, scared and terrified, carried the second reading of the bill. Finally, the ruse worked because "it did not subsequently appear that the Reform ministers had been invested with any such power; but a conviction of the reverse, fostered by these circumstances, had successfully acted upon the nervous temperament, or the statesman - like prudence, of a certain section of the peers, who consequently hesitated in their course; were known as being no longer inclined to pursue their policy of the preceding session."2 and the Bill became law.

Disraeli was not attacking the Reform Bill. He was deeply conscious of the times. He realized fully the

¹ Ibid. Bk., I, Ch. II, P. 7

Idem

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temperament of the people for change. He was against the abuses of both parties who had already lost sight of the objectives of true and honest government. He was conscious of the fact that both Whig and Tory were acting for self-interest without regard for the character of English institutions and the welfare and happiness of the people who, because of their degraded position, clamored for help from a government that either feared a steadfast adherence to conservative principles would lead to revolution or believed any acceptance of reforms would bring about greater opportunity for domination.

In Chapter VII Disraeli analyzed the problems that confronted all political factions as a result of the Bill. He saw in the success of the Whigs humiliation brought upon the King and the House of Lords, who were reduced to a position inferior to that of the Lower House. This purpose of what Disraeli considered the unpopular party was one of the primary reasons for his attacks against the Whig party, the destruction of which our author believed meant the salvation of the country. He pointed out that the sole object of his foes was a reduction of power in the Upper House and encroachment upon the prerogative of the Crown for their own benefit.

In the same chapter one feels that the author's pessism, when reading between the lines, turns into an optimistic outlook on his part in the following paragraph:

From that moment power passed from the House of Lords to another assembly. But if the peers have ceased to

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be magnificoes, may it not also happen that the Sovereign may cease to be a Doge? It is not impossible that the political movements of our time, which seem on the surface to have a tendency to democracy, may have in reality a monarchical bias.

From this preceding paragraph the reader will judge the ultimate motive of the author. The consequence of the Reform Bill may reawaken both the landed aristocracy and the King to the fact that, beneath the liberal movements of the age, there was a tendency toward monarchy. In short, the remedy for the evils of the day was a return to the monarchical form of government together with a Tory party, subject no longer to a constitution based upon the Venetian, which had as its aims liberalism and commercialism.

In the same Chapter also, Disraeli combats the Whig attacks on the Upper House as a body possessed of hereditary privileges and less representative than the Lower House. He saw in these endeavors a desire to lower the prestige and infringe upon the old constitutional rights of the House of Lords which would enable his opponents to become known as the party of the people. He, therefore, sought to vindicate the position of the House of Lords against these calumnies as a parliamentary body no less representative than the House of Commons. The latter was not so much a "House of the people" as it was a "House of a privileged class". After a study of the constitution, he found that the only difference between the

¹ Ibid. Bk, I, Ch.VII, P. 37

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two sections of parliament was that the House of Commons was composed of greater numbers, because it represented classes of the people too numerous to appear in person; whereas, the Upper House represented classes of both the Church and barons whose limited numbers made personal parliamentary appearances possible.

When the crowned Northman consulted on the welfare of his kingdom, he assembled the Estates of his realm. Now an estate is a class of the nation invested with political rights. There appeared the estate of the clergy, of the barons, of other classes. In the Scandinavian kingdoms to this day, the estate of the peasants sends its representatives to the Diet. In England, under the Normans, the Church and the Baronage were convoked, together with the estate of the Community, a term which then probably described the inferior holders of land, whose tenure was not immediate of the Crown. This Third Estate was so numerous, that convenience suggested its appearance by representation; while the others, more limited, appeared and still appear, personally. The Third Estate was reconstructed as circumstances developed themselves. It was a Reform of Parliament when the towns were summoned. 1

In the same year when the popular outcry for universal suffrage was paramount Disraeli revealed his contempt for one of the outstanding members of his party, the Duke of Wellington. He was completely preoccupied with the failure of the Duke in the civil affairs of the time. He seemed unable to understand the purpose of this renowned military figure in involving himself in the "political manoeuvres of May 1832." At the time this man, who was held in high esteem by both his party and

¹ Tbid. Bk.I, Ch. VII, Pp. 38 - 39

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the people, knew that the King had finally surrendered to the Whigs and insisted upon the passage of the Reform Bill, the success of which would do away with the "Anti-Reform Ministry from power". Disraeli was then not only perplexed to know who would compose the members of the Opposition in parliament, but he was also chagrined to think that action of this kind had come from so renowned an individual as the Duke, whose services would be more readily needed after the new law had gone into effect than it was a month prior to the passage of the Bill. The consequence of his acts "terminated under circumstances which were humiliating to the Crown, and painfully significant of the future position of the House of Lords in the new constitutional scheme."

The reader will readily understand that the acts of an individual, no matter how significant his station, that infringed upon the position of the Crown and House of Lords, met with the furious attacks of our author.

Although the attempts of the Duke of Wellington abrogated the strength of the Opposition, the writer feels that in Chapter I of Book II, Disraeli's analysis of the events of the two years following the success of the Reform Bill was that the preponderance of the Whig strength culminated in the return of Sir Robert Peel and the Tory triumph of 1834.

¹ Ibid. Bk. I, Ch.VII, P.35

² Idem.

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The Reform Ministry, which had been so popular two years previous, had disappointed the hopes of the people. In the opinion of Disraeli its demise became a reality, because the outstanding qualities of the members were ambition and greed which finally led to dissension and hostility. The legislation of the Whigs was considered unimportant in the light of the events of the time. It dealt with such small items as the "repeal of a tax" or the "impeachment of a judge". Such activities in no way enhanced the esteem of a party that had gained an overwhelming plurality of numbers in the House of Commons. He found that it was not so much a lack of order in the newly formed tactics of the Whigs that led to their dissolution as it was the symptoms of an " essential and deeply rooted disorder". He believed that the Liberal party itself was too strong because the act of 1832 had destroyed what he termed the "legitimate Opposition of the country". In his analysis of the dissolution of the Reformed parliament he reached the following conclusion:

Herein, then, we detect the real cause of all that irregular and unsettled carriage of public men which so perplexed the nation after the passing of the Reform Act. No government can be long secure without a formidable Opposition. It reduces their supporters to that tractable number which can be managed by the joint influences of fruition and of hope. It offers vengeance to the discontented; and distinction to the ambitious; and employs the energies of aspiring spirite, who otherwise may prove traitors in a division or assassins in a debate.1

¹ Ibid. Bk. II, Ch. I, Pp. 68-69

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The termination of the Whig administration in 1834 created a change in the councils of government. None knew at the time how this change was to be effected or from where this new blood was to come, because the Tory party lacked both energy and spirit. This passivity caused the Sovereign, William LV, to summon the distinguished Sir Robert Peel from Rome to form a new ministry. With the advent of Peel and his confederacy. Toryism gave way to Conservatism, and his policies now represented the Conservative Party. His Tamworth Manifesto, issued to his constituencies, unequivocally accepted the Reforms of 1832. Manifesto had no recreated the great principles of the Tory party; it was rather a program and not a creed. Disraeli's judgment on Conservatism was that it aimed at the preservation of existing institutions, and at the same time it was impracticable because the established institutions were indefensible against national demands for reform.

Conservatism was an attempt to carry on affairs by substituting the fulfillment of the duties of office for the performance of the functions of government; and to maintain this negative system by the mere influence of property, reputable private conduct, and what are called good connections. Conservatism discards Prescription, shrinks from Principle, disavows Progress; having rejected all respect for Antiquity, it offers no redress for the present, and makes no preparation for the future.

The author's diatribes against certain characters taken from life were also directed against the contemporary Tory

¹ Ibid. Bk. II, Ch. V, P. 105

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nobility. Lord Monmouth, grand Lather of Coningsby and a dignified and powerful Tory, was described as an arbitrary, pleasure seeking individual, whose main interest in people was that they be wealthy and influential. He was a type who disliked criticism and considered himself above reproach, His political object in life was to obtain a Dukedom. In his service was one Rigby, whose parliamentary and journalistic exploits fitted him admirably for the performance of his duties, which were mainly concerned with the supervision of Coningsby's education and the many political and domestic details of his employer. It may readily be said that men of character and prestige would have hesitated to affiliate themselves with a position of this kind.

In the eye of the world he had constantly the appearance of being mixed up with high dealings, and negotiations and arrangements of fine management, whereas in truth, notwithstanding his splendid livery and the airs he gave himself in the servants' hall, his real business in life has ever been, to do the dirty work.

No less striking an anomalous pair were Tadpole and Taper, whose political ambitions centered merely around the spoils of victory. To both these parasites the "idea of the necessities of the age was that they themselves should be in office".

From the time the Whigs had met with success in 1832 to the downfall of Peel's g vernment in 1835, several members of

¹ Ibid. Bk. VIII, Ch. VI, Pp. 441-442

² Ibid. Bk. VIII, Ch. I, P. 26

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the New Generation were engaged in their studies at Eton. The The political history of these three years had fired their imaginations and engaged their attention in debates and conferences. The results of these activities had left them in a state of confusion and indecision concerning the significance of conservative principles. Of the group Coningsby was the leader in both scholarship and sport. His was a mind seriously affected by contemporary problems. During his Etonian days politics to our hero was primarily a struggle between the two chief parties. Despite this outlook he possessed an intellect never satisfied until it had reached the core of things. He continuously dwelt on political problems, and his curiosity was aroused by the antipathy of the people for their government and religion no less than their conspicuous disregard for loyalty and reverence. From members of the older generation he found little if anything to guide his troubled mind. There were times, however, when he sought assistance from Rigby, who he felt was a respected man of letters and had a strong reputation in political circles. From Rigby he learned that the infidelity prevalent in the England of 1835 was due to the passage of the Reform Act of 1832.

Then he told Coningsby that want of religious Faith was solely occasioned by the want of Churches; and want of Loyalty, by George IV having shut himself up too much at the cottage in Windso Park, entirely against the advice of Mr. Rigby. . . Finally, Mr. Rigby impressed on Coningsby to read the Quarterly Review with great

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attention; and to make himself master of Mr. Wordy's History of the last War, in twenty volumes, a capital work, which proves that Providence was on the side of the Tories.

The impression made on Coningsby by Rigby was in no way satisfactory; he made further inquiries from other members of the New Generation for their ideas on question that already perplexed him. Coningsby, by his many inferences, had created a new perspective in the minds of his Etonian colleagues and a "conviction that the present state of feeling in matters both civil and religious was not healthy; that there must be substituted for this latitudinarianism something sound and deep, fervent and well defined, and that the priests of this new faith must be found among the New Generation. . "2

In this troubled mental state Coningsby left Eton after he completed the required course of studies, and was on his way to Beaumanair, the residence of his classmate, Henry Sydney, when he met by chance a stranger who had in the conversation that followed made a tremendous effect upon the mind of our hero. From this accidental meeting Coningsby learned that the world belonged to the individual youth of genius. Age and experience were not prerequisites for accomplishment. The great achievements of man were made possible by the inventive spirit and intellect of youth despite the fact they were deficient in the experience that comes with age. Coningsby

¹ Tbid. Bk. III, Ch. II, P. 132

² Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. II, P. 132

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was then advised to exercise his mind with great thought and indulge in magnanimous deeds. Though skepticism and infidelity were extremely prevalent in England at this time, Coningsby was told that a restoration of loyalty and fidelity could be made real through the efforts of a great man defined as one "who affects the mind of his generation."

As a visitor at Beaumanair two events of importance had attracted the attention of our young guest. He became aware from those present that the New Poor Law of 1834 introduced by the Whigs, the main provision of which called for a work-house test for all able bodied applicants, had created insufferable conditions among the lower and more destitute elements of the people. The Duke of Beaumanair, himself, was a staunch supporter of the Law, and his son-in-law, Lord Everingham, one of its officials and administrators, considered it "another Magna Charta". On the other hand, Henry, son of the Duke, called the attention of these two gentlemen to the ancient bights of the peasantry and to the extent these rights were disregarded by the Poor Law. He went on to say:

. . . that the order of the peasantry was as ancient, , legal, and recognized an order as the order of the nobility; that it had distinct rights and privileges, though for centuries they had been invaded and violated, and permitted to fall into desuetude. He impressed upon the Duke that the parochial constitution of this country was more important than its political constitution; that it was more ancient, more universal in its

¹ Tbid. BkIII, Ch. II, P. 130

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influence; and that this parochial constitution had already been shaken to its center by the New Poor Law.

The ravaging inroads made into an order older by centuries than the political constitution of the realm was caused chiefly by the "Spirit of the Age", otherwise known as the "Spirit of Utility". Disraeli had always considered tradition and ceremony the essentials and dominant features of English character and institutions. He found in the past the necessary ingredients to combat the evil philosophy promulgated by the new order of the middle class.

This veneration for things ancient on the part of Henry Sydney equally touched Coningsby which was further verified by his introduction to a Mr. Eustace Lyle, whose invitation to visit him at St. Genevieve was gratefully accepted by those present at Beaumanair. Amid his new surroundings Coningsby became enchanted by the pastoral beauty. When he was present in the great hall of St. Genevieve, his imagination strongly reacted to paintings that depicted the old life of the Tudors. He became enamored by what he felt was the old way of life in contrast to the new and the present. The chapel itself superimposed on his mind a love of the Roman faith. Here were depicted the strength and order and unchangeable aspects of a religion that withstood the onslaughts of time. The romanticism of the New Generation which appealed so vigorously to Coningsby

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. III, P. 141

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was now satisfied and content by these new scenes. In contrast to the New Poor Law and its abuses, Coningsby witnessed the happiness of the tenetry at St. Genevieve on almsgiving day.

They came along the valley, a procession of Nature, whose groups an artist might have studied , . . There also came the widow with her child at the breast, and others clinging to her form; some sorrowful faces, and some pale; many a serious one, and now and then a frolic glance; many a dame in her red cloak, and many a maiden with her light basket; curly-headed urchins with demure looks, and sometimes a stalwart form baffled for a time of the labour which he desired. But not a heart there that did not bless the bell that sounded from the tower of St. Genevieve.

In a personal discussion with Lyle on the state of parties Coningsby discovered the reactions and sentiments of a member of an ardent minority. He was told that the Lyles were all adherents of the Roman Faith, whose forebears, after the overthrow of Catholicism in England, had honestly manifested their deference for the new established Church. There were times, however, when the salvation of Catholic followers from the persecution of Calvinistic parliaments was made possible through the united efforts of Church and Sovereign. The father of Lyle had aligned himself with the Whig party, whose birth was broughts about by the fall of the Papacy in England, because he mistakenly imagined emancipation in the doctrines and practices of a dynasty that created nothing but misfortune and agitation throughout the country. Unlike his father, Eustace was independent of both political factions and emphatically

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. IV Pp. 153 - 154

² Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. V, P.155

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admitted to Coningsby that the Tories would be the party of his choice if the unsettled and depressing times did not create much thought among thinking people. As far as Lyle was concerned Conservatism was merely a phrase and not a fact. It had no substitute for the evils created by Whiggism. Its proponents not only resented reform, but grudgingly yielded to it in the face of popular demands.

The personality, logic, and sincerity of the speaker immeasurably impressed Coningsby who replied:

. . . You have but described my feelings when you depictured your own. My mind on these subjects has long been a chaos. I float in a sea of troubles, and should long ago have been wrecked had I not been sustained by a profound, however vague, conviction, that there are still great truths, if we could but work them out; that Government, for instance, should be loved and not hated, and that Religion should be a faith and not a form.

In a response to a letter from his grandfather,

Coningsby was on his way to the castle that bore his name when
he decided to visit Manchester, the "great Metropolis of Labor".

Here he witnessed for the first time the plight of the industrial
laborer and the great strides made by the masters of industry.

He perceived that this world had produced an entirely new and
wealthy class of people "whose power was imperfectly recognized
in the constitutional scheme, and whose duties in the social
system seemed altogether omitted". For the first time also
Coningsby met Mr. Oswald Millbank, influential and wealthy

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. V, P. 156

² Ibid. Bk. IV, Ch. II, P. 165

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Whig and father of his Eton classmate, whose pride and satisfaction for his own great factory system and the Whig aristocracy became obvious during an after-dinner conversation.

Coningsby then heard things about the Tory nobility that surprised and instructed him. He heard that great industrial figures were in continual conflict with the landed aristocracy. An aristocracy was described as a class distinguished from other classes of the people. The Tory nobility was neither wealthier, wiser, nor more virtuous than the Whig nobility. As for the ancient lineage of the Tory aristocracy Mr. Millbank continued:

We owe the English peerage to three sources: the spoliation of the Church; the open and flagrant sale of its honours by the elder Stuarts; and the boroughmongering of our own times.

Our listener, Coningsby, was further startled when he heard from the lips of the speaker a denunciation of the House of Lords. This branch of parliament had deteriorated to a degree that made its existence useless. It neither led nor formed public opinion; it created nothing, and it publically made known that fact that it served merely as a "Court of Registration of the decrees of" the House of Commons. On the other hand, the Lower House was proclaimed as the national aristocracy of the country, interpreted as one found among men "whom a nation recognizes as the most eminent for virtue,

¹ Ibid. Bk, IV, Ch. IV, P.179

^{2.} Ibid. Bk. IV, Ch. IV, P. 181

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talents, and property, and. . . birth and standing in the land.

They guide opinion; and, therefore, they govern."

It was not long after his arrival at the Castle that bore his name that Coningsby obtained a first hand knowledge of the pseudo-aristocracy so aptly explained by the words of Mr.

Millbank. To obtain the Dukedom for which he had an unconquerable desire and to save his decadent party, Lord Monmouth had gathered within the confines of his spacious grounds for their pleasure and comfort the leading members of a nearby borough and many of the most eminent notables of London and foreign society. In this year of 1836 he desired a seat from the borough of Dalford; and so intent was he upon the success of his venture that all the wealth, position, and intrigue at his command were employed. Lord Monmouth was a representative of the Tory nobility who understood well the power of his influence.

As the prey rose to bait, Lord Monmouth resolved they should be gorged , . . All went and dined at the Castle; all returned home overpowered by the condescension of the host, the beauty of the ladies, several real Princesses, the splendour of his liveries, the variety of his viands, and the flavour of his wines. It was agreed that at future meetings of the Conservative Association, they should always give 'Lord Monmouth and the House of Lords!' superseding the Duke of Wellington, who was to figure in an after-toast with Battle of Waterloo.²

Of all the guests present at Coningsby Castle the most outstanding and a descendent of the same stock as his creator was Sidonia. His forebears, though they were "the most

¹ Ibid. Bk. IV Ch. IV, P.180

² Tbid. Bk. IV Ch. V, Pp. 190-191

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industrious, the most intelligent, and the most enlightened of Spanish subjects, "1 had fled the religious intolerance of the Ferdinand and Isabella era to find refuge and freedom in other lands. Sidonia's financial position and genius had made at times many of the European governments dependent upon him for credit, and his intellectual accomplishments had gained for him a world-wide reputation. He "had exhausted all the sources of human knowledge; he was master of the learning of every nation, of all tongues dead or living, of every literature, Western and Oriental. He had pursued the speculations of science to their last term, and had himself illustrated them by observation and experiment. He had lived in all orders of society, had viewed every combination of Nature and of Art, and had observed man under every phasis of exvilazation. He had even studied him in the wilderness. The influence of creeds and laws, manners, customs, traditions, in all their diversities, had been subjected to his personal scrutiny."2

A personality of this kind exercised a trememdous influence upon the youthful Coningsby. It was indeed a delight for our representative of the New Generation to encounter the stranger who had informed him of the strength of individual genius when resident in youth. As if to continue the conversation of their first meeting, Sidonia further expounded a philosophy that found a receptive listener. Coningsby un-

l Tbid. Bk. IV, Ch. X, P. 223 2 Tbid. Bk. IV, Ch. X, P. 228

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mistakably felt that the wisdom he now heard was the answer to the innumerable difficult questions that for some time past had so perceptibly plagued him.

He was instructed that "character is an assemblage of qualities; the character of England should be an assemblage of great qualities."1 That English national character was of greater importance than its laws and institutions was an irrefutable fact. A "political institution" was a machine, and it depended for its "motive power" upon its national character. The contention between classes had brought about a decline in the virtues of the nation. This discontent was due to the fact that the imagination of the people had been aroused. The national exuberance for change in the laws and institution of the country was not the remedy to counteract existing evils, the result of a utilitarian and rational philosophy that had gone beyond bounds. Man must always be indebted to his imagination for his accomplishments. He must have some object to adore, to revere, and to worship. It was not reason that founded the Church of Rome or made possible the French Revolution of the preceding century. It was faith that was absent in contemporary England. "Man is only truly great when he acts from the passions; never irresistible but when he appeals to the imagination."2

¹ Ibid. Bk. IV, Ch. XIII, P. 251

² Ibid. Bk. IV, Ch. XIII, P. 253

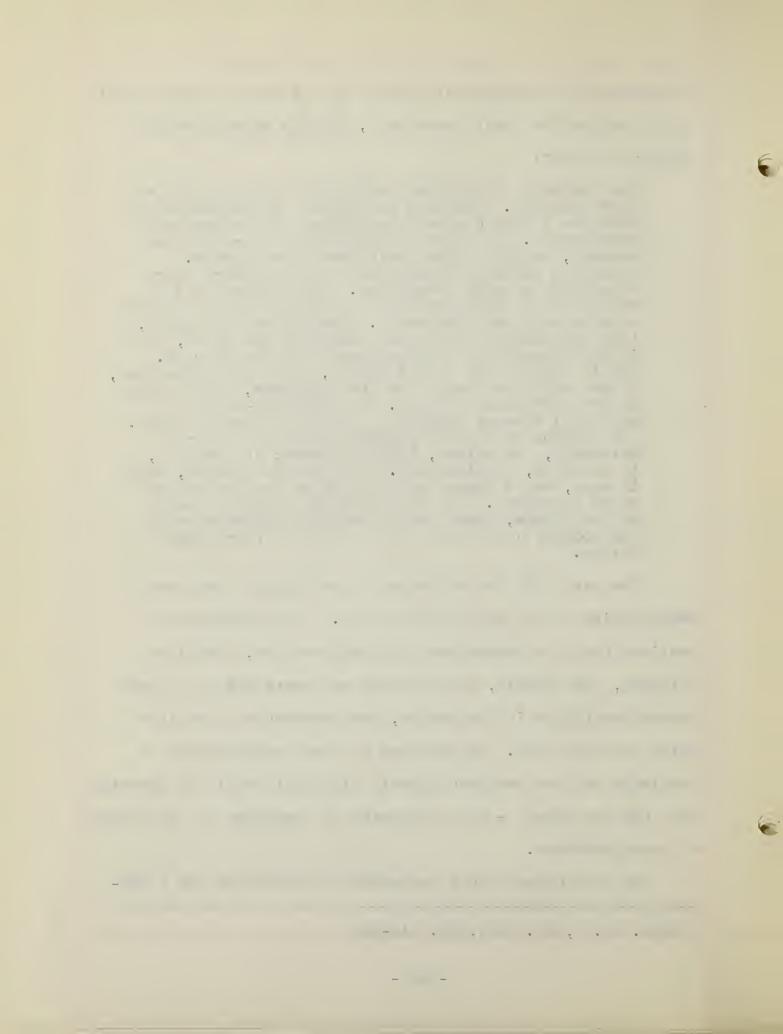
, п ę 9 n . . • • • o 6 o o 2 2 2 2 To appease this imaginative faculty of man and to restore faith in the people for their government, Sidonia summarized his ideas as follows:

The tendency of advanced civilisation is in truth to pure Monarchy. Monarchy is indeed a government which requires a high degree of civilisation for its full development. It needs the support of free laws and manners, and of a widely-diffused intelligence. Political compromises are not to be tolerated except at periods of rude transition. An educated nation recoils from the imperfect vicariate of what is called a representative government. Your House of Commons, that has absorbed all other powers in the State, will in all probability fall more rapidly than it rose. Public opinion has a more direct, a more comprehensive, a more efficient organ for its utterance, than a body of men sectionally chosen. The Brinting-press is a political element unknown to classic or feudal times. It absorbs in a great degree the duties of the Sovereign, the Priest, the Parliament; it controls, it educates, it discusses. That public opinion, when it acts, would appear in the form of one who has no class interests. In an enlightened age the Monarch on the throne, free from the vulgar prejudices and the corrupt interests of the subject becomes again divine. 1

The year 1837 had witnessed in Coningsby a profound modification in his political outlook. He instinctively realized that his encounters with Eustace Lyle, the elder Millbank, and Sidonia, the foremost representatives of their respective fields in the nation, had produced an indelible print upon his mind. He marveled at their acquirements of knowledge and had secluded himself within his walls of learning with but one object - the attainment of knowledge in all fields of human endeavor.

He then determined to engender the erudition and teach-

¹ Ibid. Bk. V, Ch. VIII, Pp. 319-320



ings he himself had obtained from both books and his past experiences among his classmates of the New Generation. He explained and enunciated doctrines that appealed strongly to his and their romantic natures. All voiced the opinion that Conservatism was a fraud because it held no principle or a substitute for a restoration of faith in civil and religious matters. The Whigs, on the other hand, had created an aristocracy based upon the Venetian republic. For the past one hundred and fifty years, save for some interruptions, they had succeeded in reducing the Sovereign to the position of a Venetian doge. Their object had ever been the usurpation of monarchical authority and the destruction of the independence of the House of Lords.

All acceded to the fact that guidance from elders of the present aristocracy with their prejudices and antiquated modes was an impossibility. All agreed to refrain from political activity until a favorable opportunity arrived which would enable them to put into practice the principles and creed of democratic Toryism that would destroy once and for all those conditions that had made the Crown "a cipher; the Church a sect; the Nobility drones; and the people drudges."

The occasion to illustrate in detail the maxims of democratic Toryism took place when Coningsby, after he received his degree, paid a visit to his former Etonian colleague, the

¹ Ibid. Bk. V, Ch. II, P. 277

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that the political disloyalty and religious infidelity was due to the absence of conditions satisfactory to man's imaginative powers. The Whigs had falsely endeavored to create a redress of sockal grievances by means of general political suffrage. The Conservatives, a closed aristocracy, attempted to conserve existing institutions while simultaneously submitting to the agitation resulting from liberal and middle class aims. The Conservative party have permitted the invasion of the monarchical dominion and the annihilation of the independence of the House of Lords by the House of Commons. They have witnessed with aversion the overthrow of the constitution of both Church and State. Yet, they announced that these conditions were not realities.

It was a false notion to think that the greatest influence and power in the state, public opinion, could be best served by the principle of parliamentary representation. The existence of parliamentary bodies in "an age of semi-civilization" was a feasible one, but the advent of the printing press no longer necessitated the continuance of a parliament that had done nothing but inflict abuse upon the people. The necessity of the age was someone who, devoid of class interest, would lead and carry out the will of the people. Parliament was representative of classes in the realm, each arrayed against the other. The true and real representative of all

• . . =/ t e - - 111/2 0 classes of the people was the Sovereign who "is the sovereign of all. The proper leader of the people is the individual who sits upon the throne."

On the other hand, the low esteem in which the people beheld the Church was the essential cause of the decline of national character. The Church, by its connections with despotic parliaments, had lost its character of universality. The Church, independent and equal to the State, had always opposed tyranny in every form. The result of civil interference in religious matters was that the Church had been degraded to a position inferior to that of the State, and the House of Commons had become the supreme power. This body relegated to positions of high authority in the Church appointees of their own choice who were outrageous examples of the present aristocracy. To augment the revenues in its treasury an arbitrary parliament had appropriated the revenues of the Church.

Despite this unhappy union between Church and State,

Coningsby felt that a revival of national character would

materialize because the parochial system was "the most ancient,

the most comprehensive, and the most popular institution of

the country."

The Church, divorced and aloof from civil

interference, would act as a bulwark against despotism and

protect the rights of the people who would realize in the

¹ Ibid. Bk. VII, Ch. II, P. 374

² Ibid. Bk. VII, Ch. II, P. 379

. • ς . . . • . religious establishment a means of exercising their capabilities and intelligence. To complete the conversion of Millbank, Coningsby summed up his principles as follows:

. . . true wisdom lies in the policy that would effect its ends by the influence of opinion, and yet by the means of existing forms. Nevertheless, if we are forced to revolutions, let us propose to our consideration the idea of a free monarchy, extablished on fundamental laws, itself the apex of a vast pile of municipal and local government, ruling an educated people, represented by a free and intellectual press. Before such a royal authority, supported by such a national opinion, the sectional anomalies of our country would disappear. Under such a system, where qualification would not be parliamentary, but personal, even statesmen would be educated; we should have no more diplomatists who could not speak French, no more bishops ignorant of theology, no more generals-in-chief who never saw a field.

In 1841 the hopes of the Conservative party had materially risen. National clamor for a return of Conservative principles was pronounced and effective. The occasion for their entrance into politics was favorable for the newly formed Young England Party. The national victory over the Whigs had been final and complete. Their defeat had been due to "the absence of individual influence and of the pervading authority of a commanding mind."²

Coningsby recognized in the victorious political actions of his colleagues the influence his teachings had made upon them.

Lord Henry was certain for a division of his county; Buckhurst harangued a large agricultural borough in

¹ Ibid. Bk. VII, Ch. II, P. 375

² Ibid. Bk. V, Ch. II, P. 294

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his vicinty; Eustace Lyle and Vere stood in coalition for a Yorkshire town; and Oswald Millbank solicited the suffrages of an important manufacturing constituency. They sent their addresses to Coningsby. He was deeply interested as he traces in them the influence of his own mind; often recognized the very expression to which he had habituated them.

As for himself, a happy fate had befallen Coningsby when he gained the electorate of Dalford over a detestable foe, Rigby. This contest made obvious the "guerre a outrance" between the new and old generation. The victory of the Young England party had made possible the opportunity to carry out in parliament the principles of democratic Toryism.

The author of Coningsby had placed his faith in the younger generation of England. Whether or not his program would be carried out, time would only tell.

¹ Ibid. Bk. IX, Ch. VI, P. 492

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SYBIL

FOREWORD

The General Reader whose attention has not been specially drawn to the subject which these volumes aim to illustrate - the Condition of the People - might suspect that the Writer had been tempted to some exaggeration in the scenes that he has drawn, and the impressions he has wished to convey. He thinks it therefore due to himself to state that the descriptions, generally, are written from his own observation; but while he hopes he has alleged nothing which is not true, he has found the absolute necessity of suppressing much that is genuine. For so little do we know of the state of our own country, that the air of improbability which the whole truth would inevitably throw over these pages, might deter some from their perusal.

With these words Disraeli described his reactions on the plight of the people in <u>Sybil</u>; or <u>The Two Nations</u>, the second book of our trilogy, published in May, 1845. Unlike <u>Coningsby</u>, which treated the state of parties, this novel concerned itself with the condition of people and with scenes that dynamically described the two nations of England - the rich and the poor.

The author had made a personal inspection tour of England's morthern industrial regions to obtain a first hand knowledge of social conditions among the workers. Added to this experience he spent a great deal of his time in a study

Disraeli, Benjamin, Sybil; or The Two Nations, Peter Davies, London, W. C. 1927, The Bradenham Edition, Advertisement

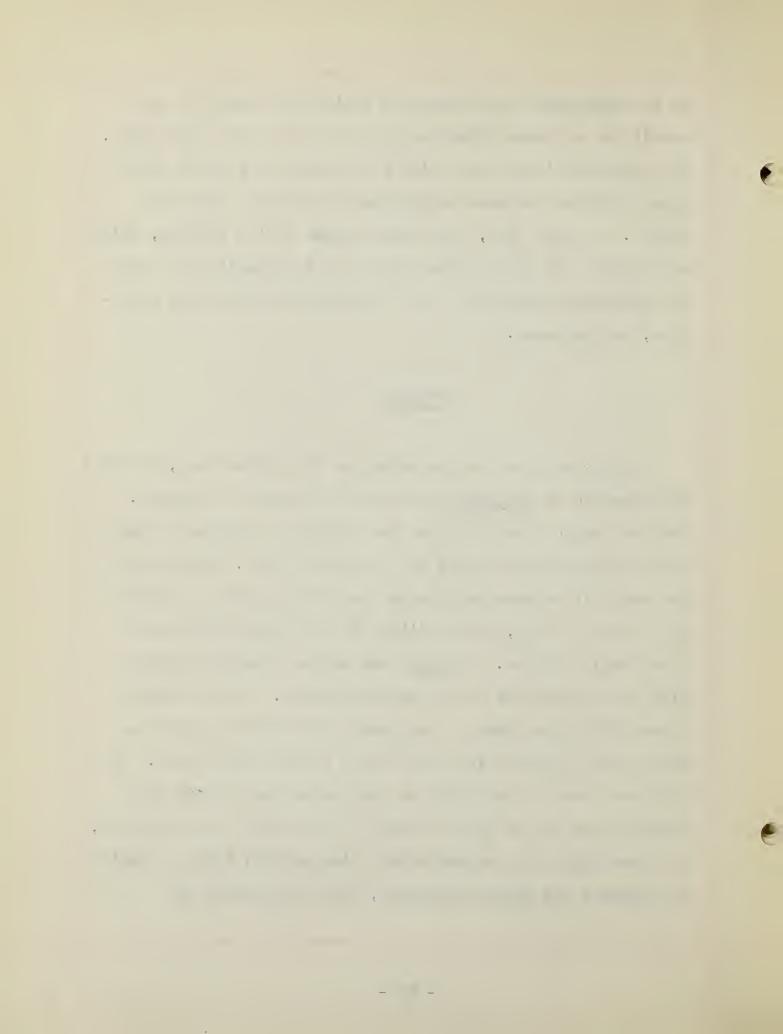
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of the employment of children in factory and mine and the conditions of labor affecting both rural and urban employees. He concerned himself also with the causes and results of the great Chartist Movement of 1839 upon which our subject is based. At this time, the second object of the trilogy, which entertained the position and rights of the people in a happy and prosperous nation led by a sovereign without class prejudice, was unfolded.

PURPOSE

A year previous to the advent of the second book, Disraeli had revealed in Coningsby the state of parties in England.

For the younger generation he had prepared a program of hope for a realization of civil and religious faith. Because of the conflict between parties and the friction that existed in a class society, the condition of the people had become a national disgrace. In Sybil our author advanced another step in a revelation of his second purpose. He now busied himself with the state of the people whom the two opposing parties had governed for more than a century and a half. He disclosed that in the midst of the turmoil and strife that engulfed the nation "as the power of the Crown has diminished, the privileges of the People have disappeared; till at length the sceptre has become a pageant, and its subject has



degenerated again into a serf."1

The social predicament that confronted the people had engaged his thoughts in the first Reform Bill which he profoundly believed had terminated in the degradation of both the Crown and the people. Disraeli had always felt that as the power of the Sovereign waned the people descended into a proportionate degree of servitude. The foundation of true democratic Toryism was based upon a free and contented people led by a king devoid of class interest. Since 1832 the social effects of Whig political activities were contrary to all the hopes and desires of the people whose condition had created indignation, agitation, and demands for reform. The masses discovered. However, that alleviation of their distress was not to be found among men of either political party because the sole thoughts of these groups centered on gain at the expense of the people. Labor, therefore, believed that salvation only through its own efforts and leaders could be realized.

The author of <u>Sybil</u> fully understood the powerful influence the machine had made upon the society of his day. The differences between labor and capital became very great, and unanimity in thought and action between the two seemed an impossibility. On the one hand, a new and powerful class of industrialists, the owners and masters of the new machine world, exerted their

¹ Ibid. Bk, VI, Ch. XIII, P. 491

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energies in an attempt to gain that political control which had always been a monopoly of the landed aristocracy. In these endeavors the factory owners had lost sight of their duties to the workers who, in the strife that followed, realized that a change of political administration signified a change of masters, heedless of and hostile to all steps for social advancement of Labor. On the other hand, the people who earned their daily bread under privations that made the name of England, the greatest and most civilized nation in the world, a farce, were determined to procure social reform.

According to Disraeli, men, women, and children were earning their livelihood under conditions little above that of the slave and contrary to all concepts of human liberty and dignity.

The people sought redress of their grievances through the franchise. They believed representation by their own kind would best serve their purpose. It was with this intention that the National Petition of 1839, with more than a million and a half signatures, was presented to Parliament by the Chartists. With the Chartists Disraeli was largely in sympathy, but he could not agree with them that the aristocracy were their natural enemies. To our author the natural and true leaders of the people were the heads of the nobility who, when awakened to their duties as property holders, would realize the obligations of the rich to the poor. He endeavored

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to show the people that they were incorrect both in their attitude toward their true leaders and in their method of using leaders from the ranks of Labor. He, therefore, promulgated in Sybil the thesis that the real leaders of the people were bo be found among the aristocracy, and to this class he appealed and reminded them of their duties to the common man because power was to be wielded for the benefit of the many rather than for the welfare of a few.

SOCIAL ELEMENTS

Disraeli's kind of government depended largely upon a prosperous people. His political campaigns and parliamentary debates often reminded the nobility that as men of property they possessed obligations and duties to the populace. He emphatically announced that labor had lost faith in the leadership of the aristocracy. The landowner had permitted the passage of the first Reform Bill which led to the iniquitous Poor Law of 1834, a direct violation of the peoples' prerogatives and contrary to the parochial constitution of the country. In the shuffle for political control the gentry had completely neglected the people whose dependence upon capital made the position of the worker insufferable.

Agitation and outcries for social change resulted in the presentation to parliament of the National Petition by the

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Chartists, the leadership of which rose from the ranks of labor. This Petition exerted no influence or drew forth no condolence from this body. Sedition, strikes, and rick-burning became common occurrences. England was divided into two social classesthe affluent and the destitute. Dissatisfaction, disgust, and hostility were paramount in the speech and actions of those who labored for subsistence. With a nation embroiled in intolerable hardships, Disraeli revealed his views on the causes and remedies of a grave, social evil.

It had always been the contention of the author that the pillage of the Church and the subordination of the Crown was a crime effected by a greedy aristocracy. In addition, since the advent of the Reform Act, a pseudo-philosophy of utilitarianism and materialism had arisen which was extremely dangerous to the national welfare. These two historical cardinal facts had reduced the people to a condition of impoverishment.

desecrating all the humanities of life, has been the besetting sin of England for the last century and a half, since the passing of the Reform Act the altar of Mammon has blazed with triple worship. To acquire, to accumulate, to plunder each other by virtue of philosophic phrases, to propose a Utopia to consist only of Wealth and Toil, this has been the breathless business of enfranchised England for the last twelve years, until we are startled from our voracious strife by the wall of intolerable serfage.

In Book II, Chapter III, the reader was afforded a picture of incredible poverty among the unfortunate in the

¹ Ibid. Bk.I, Ch. V, P. 36

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social scale of the agricultural town of Marney. What were called homes were nothing more than dilapidated cottages hewn together with rough undressed stones without even an iota of cement. The holes and leaks throughout the structure were large and numerous enough to admit the wind and rain. Before the entrances, pools of animal and vegetable refuse glutted with filth and stench brought disease and sickness.

The dwellers themselves were confined to an area of no more than two rooms. The same sleeping quarters were utilized by all regardless of age and sex. The father was oftern stricken with the dreadful typhus, and the mother, as was the rule among the women of her class, suffered the pain of childbirth only to witness another of her offspring inherit the same social evils of the poor. The British farmer, too, encountered "the worst of diseases, with a frame the least qualified to oppose them; a frame that, subdued by toil, was never sustained by animal food; drenched by the tempest, could not change its dripping rags; and was indebted for its scanty fuel to the windfalls of the woods."1

The wages in Marney were notoriously low, and were far from enough to purchase even the barest of necessities. Any demands for assistance from the proprietor of the estate met with resentment and scorn. The landowner sought a solution to this distressful problem in the destruction of the cottage

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. V, P. 63

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This attitude, typical of those in possession of the land, compelled many to find their way into the manufacturing districts where penury and want rivalled that of the country town. A dark, cloudy sky always seemed to hover over this machine world. The landscape as well as the interior was not only dirty but also black as coal. The inside and outside of homes and the clothing of the people were affected by this dismal black coloring which was as much a component part of the industrial region as were the oppressor and oppressed. It was not unusual that a mere boy of sixteen was the head of a family. The average span of life never extended beyond eighteen. To forget the dreariness and drudgery of life after twelve hours a day in the factory, intoxication, an outlet for the emotions of the inhabitants, became the rule rather than the exception. The influx of labor from rural communities and the advent of women and girls into the labor market created a detrimental effect upon the wages and spirit of the populace, Children, irrespective of age or sex, became the victims of unscrupulous employers. The position of adults in the factory became more and more insecure until the time arrived when parents depended solely upon the salaries of their sons and daughters. A typical home consisted

¹ Ibid. Bk. II, Ch. X, P. 113

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of one room in the center of which stood a loom purchased by the artisan at an exorbitant price. From sunrise to sunset he labored, surrounded by his sick wife and underfed and underclad children who often remained in bed to cover their naked bodies.

On the other hand, every effort toward the elimination of children from their plight was coldly and calculatingly planned. The newly born were placed in the care of elderly women while mothers were at work in the factory. The fee was three pence a day, and those who failed to make payment often suffered the loss of their children. The child was given a poisonous lotion which, when consumed in sufficient quantities, sent him quietly out of this world.

To have fewer mouths to feed, fewer bodies to clothe, and smaller numbers to endure the despoilment of the poor, the young, who as yet had not attained the age of reason, were often sent out into the streets to be run down by horse or cart, to catch cold or fewer from which many never recovered, or to compel the little ones to search for their food in the dregs of the street from which undernourishment and starvation was the sole consequence.

The expense is not great, laudanum and treacle, administered in the shape of some popular elixir, affords these innocents a brief taste of the sweets of existence, and, keeping them quiet, prepares them for the silence of their impending graves. Infanticide is practiced as extensively in England, as it is on the banks of the Ganges; a circumstance which

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apparently has not yet engaged the attention of the society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.l

In spite of this cruel practice there was one child who survived the starvation, poison, and fever. Having lost his mother and the weekly charge having failed to reach his brutal murse in whose care he was placed. Devilsdust was ordered into the streets to meet the same fate as his companions. Only "three months' 'play' in the streets got rid of this tender company, shoeless, half-naked, and uncombed, whose age varied from two to five years."2 Unlike the others Devilsdust was not run over, and when he caught cold or fever, or drank the elixir given him, he always recovered. Though allowed no food, he shared the street and garbage leavings with the dogs. For his bed he slept in withered straw in a cellar filled with cesspools of defilement and unbearable odors. It was not infrequent for the children who availed themselves of similar chambers to become nothing but corpses on the following morning. He possessed a frame more hardy than any of the others, and Devilsdust, despite insurmountable trials, had grown to manhood to assist in the social regeneration of his country.

The indigence of the peasant and factory hand was no more severe than the inhumanity practised among the elements of the people who sweated in the dark depths of coal mines.

¹ Ibid. Bk, II, Ch. X, P. 113

² Idem.

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In his pursuit for cheap labor the mine operator applied no restrictions upon age or sex. Like other occupations that felt the introduction of the less hardy sex the wages of the miner did not escape. Scantily clad children, not as yet beyond their fifth birthday, joined their elders in the bowels of the earth. Twelve and sixteen hours of sweat a day brought many to an early grave. As they emerged from the mines sorrow shone on their countenances, complaints and profanity arose from their lips, and curses against their masters came in a steady stream.

They came forth: the mine delivers its gang and the pit its bondsman; the forge is silent and the engine is still. The plain is covered with the swarming multitude: bands of stalwart men, broad-chested and muscular, wet with toil, and black as the children of the tropics; troops of youth, alas! of both sexes, though neither their raiment nor their attire; and oaths that men might shudder at, issue from lips born to breathe words of sweetness. Yet these are to be, some are, the mothers of England! But can we wonder at the hideous coarseness of their language, when we remember the savage rudeness of their lives? Naked to the waist, an iron chain fastened to a belt of leather runs between their legs clad in canvass trousers, While on hands and feet an English girl, for twelve, sometimes for sexteen hours a day, hauls and hurries tubs of coals up subterranean roads, dark, precipitous, and plashy; circumstances that seem to have escaped the notice of the Society for the Abolition of Negro Slavery. Those worthy gentlemen too appear to have been singularly unconscious of the sufferings of the little trappers, which was remarkable, as many of them were in their own employ.1

This baseness to which the human element of England's unfortunate had fallen was summarized by the author's description of the manufacturers of ironware, the steelworkers,

¹ Ibid. Bk, III, Ch. I, Pp. 162 - 163

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and the locksmiths. The town of Wodgate had been recognized nationally and internationally for the skill of its workmen and the excellence of its products. Its position in relation to other communities was unique. This region was without landlords and its cottages were rent free. Churches, schools, and public buildings were unknown. Factories and large industrial structures were non-existent. The required work was performed in the homes of the people by master workmen and apprentices whose relationship was little different from that which exists between master and slave. The former were no more than despots who "habitually inflict upon their subjects punishments more grievous than the slave population of our colonies were ever visited with; not content with beating them with sticks or flogging them with knotted ropes, they are in the habit of felling them with hammers, or cutting their heads open with a file or lock. The most usual punishment, however, or rather stimulus to increase exertion, is to pull an apprentice's ears till they run with blood."1

The work, though hard and long, did not require more than four days. The remaining three days offered the community an opportunity to practise their modes of relaxation. On the second day of the week and on "Tuesday the whole population of Wodgage is drunk; of all stations, ages, and sexes; even babes who should be at the breast, for they are drammed

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. IV, P. 189

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with Godfrey's Cordial."1

In Wodgate there were none to preach the gospel, or to teach the rudiments of education, or to reform the animalistic tendencies of the people. Their ignorance rather than any tendency toward wrongdoing had made their lives degraded and ominous. They were both illiterate and unlearned, so much so that "there are many in this town who are ignorant of their very names; very few who can spell them. It is rare that you meet with a young person who knows his own age; rather to find the boy who has been a book, or the girl who has seen a flower. Ask them the name of their religion, and they will laugh: who rules them on earth, or who can save them on earth, or who can save them on earth, or

At the time he divulged the conditions of the poor, the author of <u>Sybil</u> bent his energies upon a disclosure of the machinations of the more fortunate elements of England's social order. Intrigue, influence, favoritism, self-comfort, and idleness were all too common among the nobility. They enjoyed ever material want that station provided them. Their tastes were extensive and extravagant and their acquisitions dopious. Their children experienced every child-like indulgence that wealth made possible. A career at Eton, Oxford, or Cambridge, and a parliamentary seat were ordinary inheritances. The Church remained a sanctuary for the favored few, and the

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. IV, P. 190

² Tbid. Bk. III, Ch. IV, Pp. 190-191

. e . · · ę e e e e • state continued as the instrument of the aristocracy. The condition of party and people was one about which few knew or cared. A parliamentary dissolution created excitement and activity. A new political regime signified renewed hopes for political distinction and the possible fruition of dreams not yet materialized.

Now is the time for men to come forward who have claims: claims for spending their money, which nobody asked them to do, but which of course they only did for the sake of the party. They never wrote for their party, or spoke for their party, or gave their party any other vote than their own; but they urge their claims, to something; a commissionship of anything, or a consulship anywhere; if no place to be had, they are ready to take it out in dignities. They once looked to the privy council, but would now be content with an hereditary honour; if they can have neither, they will take a clerkship in the treasury for a younger son. Perhaps they may get that in time: at present they go away growling with a gaugership; or having with desperate dexterity at length contrived to transform a tidewater into a landwaiter. But there is nothing like asking, except refusing.

Atypical example of the aristocracy was the proprietor of the land that bore his name, Lord Marney. Greedy, selfish, steadfast, and unchangeable in his views he sought political, social and financial advancement through ruse and subterfuge. He refused to submit to opinions not his own; he surveyed life as the soldier regarded war; and he believed competition the essence of existence on earth. Men were judged on their ability to outsmart one another. Christian precepts of kindness, affection, and gentility were alike alien to him.

¹ Ibid. Bk. I Ch. VI, P. 46

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Prejudiced against the people he rejoiced in the severity of the Poor Law, detested cries for social betterment among the less fortunate, and eulogized the interests of the aristocracy. He considered the employment problem one of over population that could best be cleared up through the obliteration of the cottage and the ejection of the rustic from the land. A depressed wage was his answer to the worker's large scale consumption of beer. He eyed with horror the levelling tendency of the age and the principle of equality which rose from the introduction of the railroad and factory system.

. . Lord Marney also really liked pomp, a curious table and luxurious life; but he liked them under any roof rather than his own. Not that he was what is commonly called a Screw, that is to say, he was not a mere screw; but he was acute and malicious; saw everybody's worth and position at a glance; could not bear to expend his choice wines and costly viands on hangers-on-and toad-eaters, though at the same time no man encouraged and required hangers-on and toadeaters more. Lord Marney had all the petty social vices, and none of those petty social weaknesses which soften their harshness or their hideousness. To receive a prince of the blood, or a great peer, he would spare nothing. Had he to fulfill any of the public duties of his station, his performance would baffle criticism, but he enjoyed making the Vicar of Marney or Captain Grouse drink some claret that was on the wane, or praise a bottle of Burgundy that he knew was pricked. 1

This was the class Disraeli decried and the class around whom he greatly desired to revive the dormant and majestic principles of the Tory party. From this group he sought out the young, capable, and talented, in whom he believed lay the

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. II, Pp. 170-171

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hopes and aspirations of a down-trodden people.

Into this environment of opulence and depravity was born and bred the younger brother of Lord Marney and hero of our novel. Like others of his rank his every whim had been gratified; and he was wont to indulge in the same frivolities of idleness - the Derby, saloons, and clubs. He enjoyed immensely his carefree and luxurious ways; and upon him was placed mone of the cares and responsibilities that required manly application. He had attained maturity with ideas of the Church as a place of "fat livings, and of the State rotten boroughs. To do nothing and get something formed a boy's ideal of a manly career." He began life after the completion of his studies at Eton and Oxford and his election to parliament in 1837, the commencement date of our story. Yet, in this youth were signs of sympathy, understanding, and intelligence; all of which were aroused during a visit to Marney. Before him fate had opened up new vistas of thought and action from which he never recoiled.

The education of Egremont in the Tory ideal began when he discovered the attitude of the people toward their master. He learned that rick-burning was an act perpetrated by tempers hardened by years of strife. Within the confines of Lord Marney's territorial acquisitions were the proud remains of Marney Abbey behind which lay centuries of glorious history.

¹ Ibid. Bk. I, Ch. V, P. 34

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Egremont recalled to mind the beautiful and magnificent architecture which once held fast the imagination of the people. The hospital itself shone as a light of peace and condolence to the sick and maimed. From these grounds every material assistance was extended to and never denied the poor. The dignitaries of the Church, the majority themselves offsprings of the people, brought succor and enlightenment in the construction of schools, libraries, and public buildings. These men of the cloth built their institutions for the sake of posterity, which fact alone made security a reality.

These thoughts clogged the mind of the aristocratic youth who gazed upon relics brought about by centuries of avidity and greed on the part of his own order. He compared the well-being of the people in the time of the monks with the miserable conditions of the masses in 19th century England. The destruction of stocks was non-existent, and the temper of the people was never aroused. His way of life was threatened and that of the monks encouraged by the people.

A chance meeting and conversation with two of the nation's outstanding personalities of labor enlightened his confused mind. Walter Gerard and Stephen Morley were the embodiment of the underdog's aspirations. The first, the champion and leader of a radical party, believed in the stimulation of man's passions and the force of arms for the attainment of social prosperity. The frustration of the

good works of the monks and the dispossession of their lands led to the degradation of the people. According to Gerard. poverty was a crime and paradoxically the nobility struck down the monastics who themselves were wealthy and properous. This plundered property was then divided among the vultures of the aristocracy who brought disgrace and shame upon their country. He objected to the modern landlord who was too well acquainted with harsh and cruel methods. The monastics. however, were sympathetic toward their tenants. Rents were not high and allowances for the renewal of leases before the expiration of their tenure was a reality. The country then was not divided between master and slave, and class prejudice was unknown. Though the monks possessed money, there were no wanton heirs to receive and squander the wealth after the death of the monastic. The monk received the wealth which was produced by the people and expended it in behalf of the producer. He was a landlord who spent wisely and whose deeds lived after him. Here was a system of perpetuity welcomed by the tenets of the land.

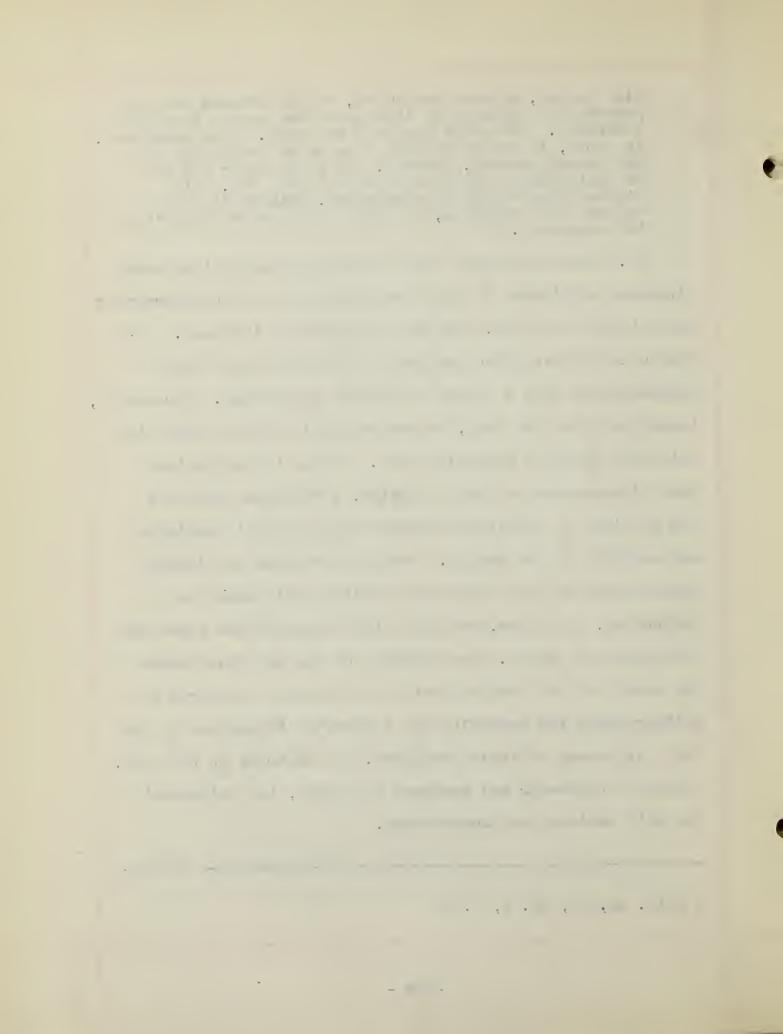
they could save no money; they could bequeath nothing. They lived, received, and expended in common. The monastery, too, was a proprietor that never died and never wasted. The farmer had a deathless landlord then; not a harsh guardian, or a grinding mortgagee, or a dilatory master in chicanery: all was certain; the manor had not to dread a change of Lords, or the oaks to tremble at the axe of the squandering heir. How proud we are still in England of an old family, though, God knows, 'tis rare to see one now. Yet, the people

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like to say, we held under him, and his father and his grandfather before him: they know that such a tenure is a benefit. The abbot was ever the same. The monks were, in short, in every district a point of refuge for all who needed succour, counsel, and protection; a body of individuals having no cares of their own, with wisdom to guide the inexperienced, with wealth to relieve the suffering, and often with power to protect the oppressed.'

Mr. Gerard continued with the declaration that whereas sickness and disease in the flourishing age of the monasteries once struck all alike, they now only touched the poor. Enslaved and impoverished the people discovered that their circumstances made a change of masters impossible. Personally. though all else was lost, he was proud of the fact that his faith was the only thing left him. Though the monastics were dispossessed of their religion, a rapacious nobility had no right to confiscate property that brought happiness and security to the people. One could witness the inhuman achievements of the aristocracy in the great numbers of workhouses, factories, and jails that harassed the flesh and destroyed the spirit. The tenantry of his day lived under the cruel and cold administration of absentee landlords who neither built for posterity nor interested themselves in the wants and needs of their occupants. In contrast to the monk, strong in character and profound in Wisdom, the aristocrat was both ordinary and incompetent.

¹ Ibid. Bk, II, Ch. V, P.72



This was the type of individual who made up a class called upon to govern the most powerful of nations.

. . . 'I would rather that its younger branches should be monks and nuns than colonels without regiments, or housekeepers of royal palaces that exist only in name. Besides, see what advantage to a minister, if the unendowed aristocracy were thus provided for now. He need not, like a minister in these days, entrust the conduct of public affairs to individuals notoriously incompetent, appoint to the command of expedition, generals who never saw a field, make governors of colonies out of men who never could govern themselves, or find an ambassador in a broken dandy or a blasted favourite. It is true that many of the monks and nuns were persons of noble birth. Why should they not have been? The aristocracy had their share; no more. They, like all other classes, were benefited by the monasteries: but the list of the mitred abbots, when they were suppressed, shows that the great majority of the heads of houses were of the people. 1

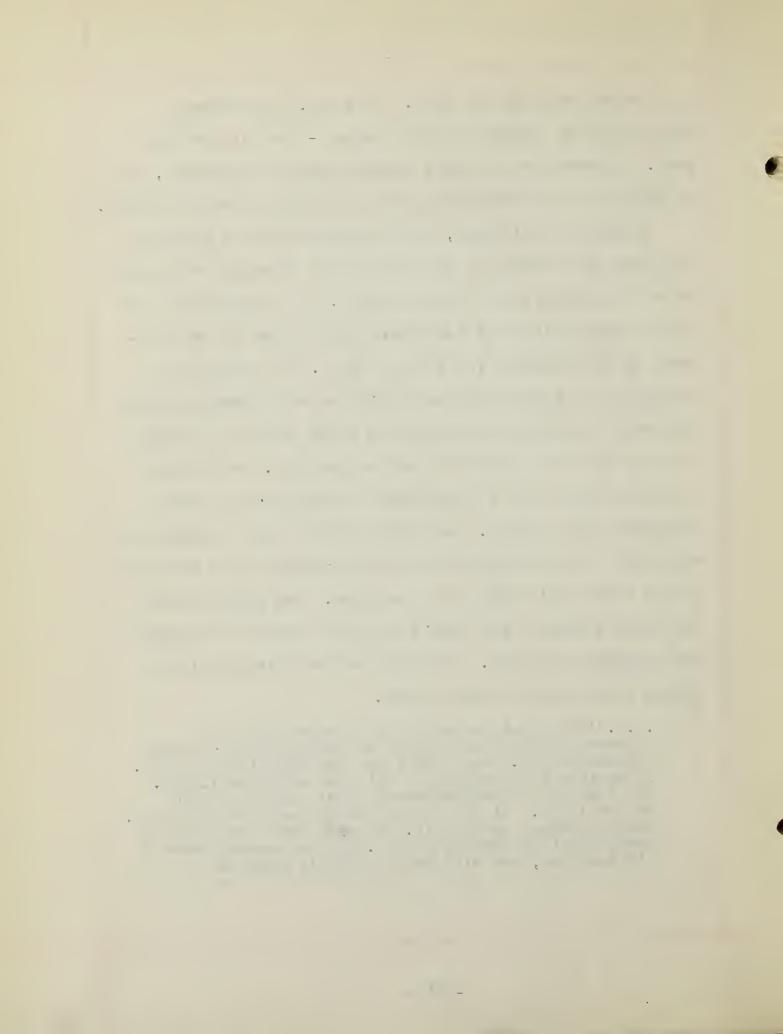
Like his colleague, the second and younger of the two speakers, a Socialist and newspaper editor, sympathized with the reign of the monastics because the spirit they engendered among the people was one of fellowship and association. Deeds were performed in the interests of all. There were no select few who were favored to the disadvantage of others. On the other hand, he commented that modern society was a gathering point where people encountered the struggle for existence with a divided purpose, with class segregation, and with selfish interests. To accumulate profit its members ignored the rights of others and rejoiced in the exploitation of their fellow man. This crude manner of living created wealth for

¹ Ibid. Bk. II, Ch. V, Pp. 72-73

. the few and want for the many. In short, it produced a divided nation composed of two classes - the rich and the poor. Between the two there reigned profound ignorance, lack of sympathy and understanding of each other's needs and modes.

Unlike his colleague, he disliked the use of physical coercion and believed in the efficacy of peaceful and tranquil means for a key to the social problem. He concentrated more on the possibilities of the future rather than the achievements of the recorded facts of the past. He looked upon society as an institution undergoing an evolutionary process that would eventually culminate in a new era of enrichment to labor and a nullification of the nobility. He desired a society based upon a singleness of purpose and a union of spirit and of deeds. He considered the noble an enemy of the people and the eradication of the aristocracy a necessity if his ideal state were to be realized. The people could and would achieve their rights only when led by the leaders and champions of labor. Principle rather than individual genius would correct social evils.

renovate society; it is some new principle that must reconstruct it. You lament the expiring idea of Home. It would not be expiring if it were worth retaining. The domestic principle demands that another should be developed. It will come; you may advance or retard, but you cannot prevent it. It wall work out like the development of organic nature. In the present state of civilization, and with the scientific means of



happiness at our command, the notion of home should be obsolete. Home is a barbarous idea; the method of a rude age; home is isolation; therefore antisocial. What we want is Community.'1

The education of Egremont was furthered by his introduction to the daughter of the Radical Party leader and the heroine of our novel which bears her name. Deeply religious and true to her faith she lived in the Abbey convent. Though not a nun she possessed inclinations toward this calling. Her only real experience with the outside world came with the help and assistance she brought the poor. The difference between the rich and the poor were too great to be overcome. and Sybil viewed the noble as the arch-enemy of the people. It was he who oppressed them, plundered the Church, and degraded her race. That there could ever be an agreement of thought or unity of action between the two was an impossibility. She looked upon the world as a place in which human beings were either master or slaves. From her acquaintance with life Sybil always felt that the "dove and the eagle will not mate: the lion and the lamb will not lie down together; and the conquerors will never rescue the conquered."2 What she desired most in life was the return of her Roman Faith and the reappearance of the people on the land. For the achievement of this purpose Sybil placed her faith in the greatness of the divine will and the strength of moral power which she felt would be found in the righteousness of labor's

¹ Ibid. Bk, III, Ch. IX, P. 225 2 Ibid. Bk. V, Ch. II, P. 342

£ ę · · cause. She lived with thoughts that were solely engaged in the plight of her Church and in the condition of the people.

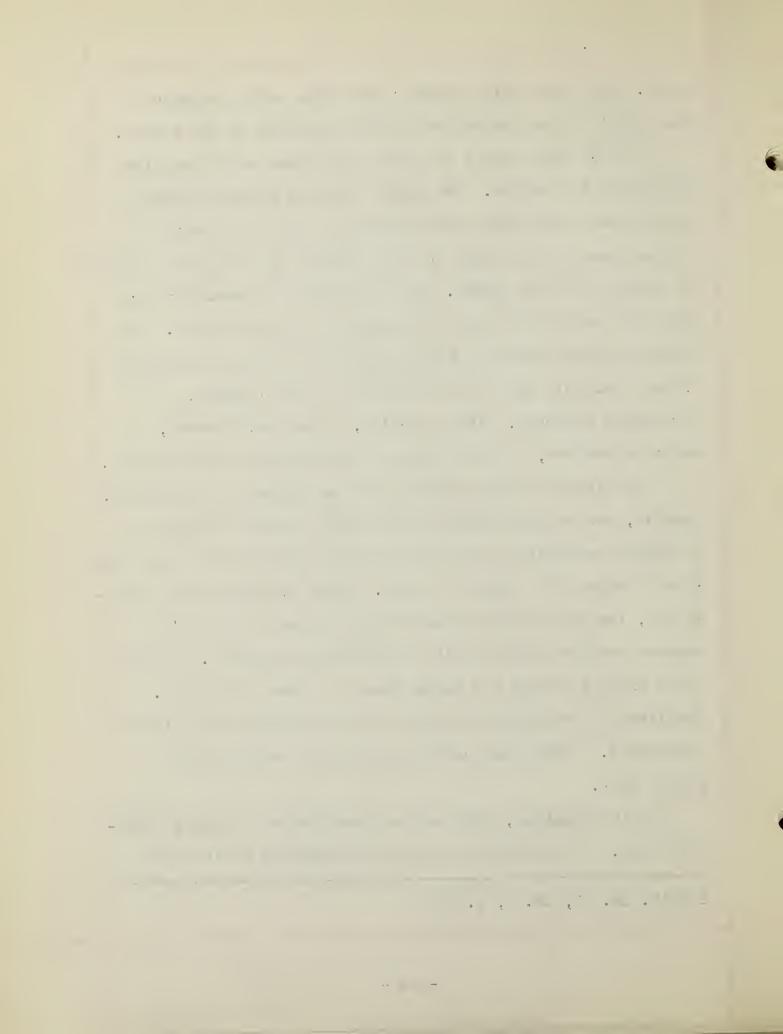
At this time events of great importance had taken place throughout the nation. The people through leaders in whom they placed their trust had introduced a National Petition to Parliament then engaged on the Jamaica Bill for the abolition of slavery in this colony. Days and weeks had been spent on this Bill with hardly any time allowed the petitioners. This reception which became a mere mockery ended in the enragement of the Chartists and in the failure of their demands:

"universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, salaried members, and abolition of the property qualification."1

The blame for this default had been placed on a heedless, hostile, and selfish body who regarded the slave problem of a foreign possession more important for consideration than the slave problem of a domestic issue. Since peaceful means availed not, the more forceful and radical nembers of labor's leaders decided upon punitive and vehement measures. Secret trade union meetings had taken place all over the nation. Headlines on stoppages of labor and arson filled the print of newspapers. Murder and revolt against the state became public news.

In the meantime, Egremont had experienced a mental transformation. He realized now that the condition of labor was

¹ Ibid. Bk. IV, Ch. V, P. 262



a serious one. He sympathized but did not agree with certain views of three labor's foremost adherents - Sybil. Gerard. and Morely. Unity between the two divided nations could be made real. The laws which governed one could have equal status with those that governed the other. The ignorance and misunderstandings between both would eventually disappear. He concluded, however, that unless action was taken to remedy the matter, ruin and desolation would strike the country. He resolved therefore, to act before time and events verified the truth of this decision. As a member of Parliament he witnessed the presentation of the National Petition. His was the only voice that resounded throughout the parliamentary chambers that spoke in behalf of the people. Though he disagreed with the choice of leadership, he upheld their righteous demands. Labor as well as property possessed rights. Respect for one was as much the duty of the statesman as respect for the other. Unless power was exercised for the social welfare of the people it was used in vain.

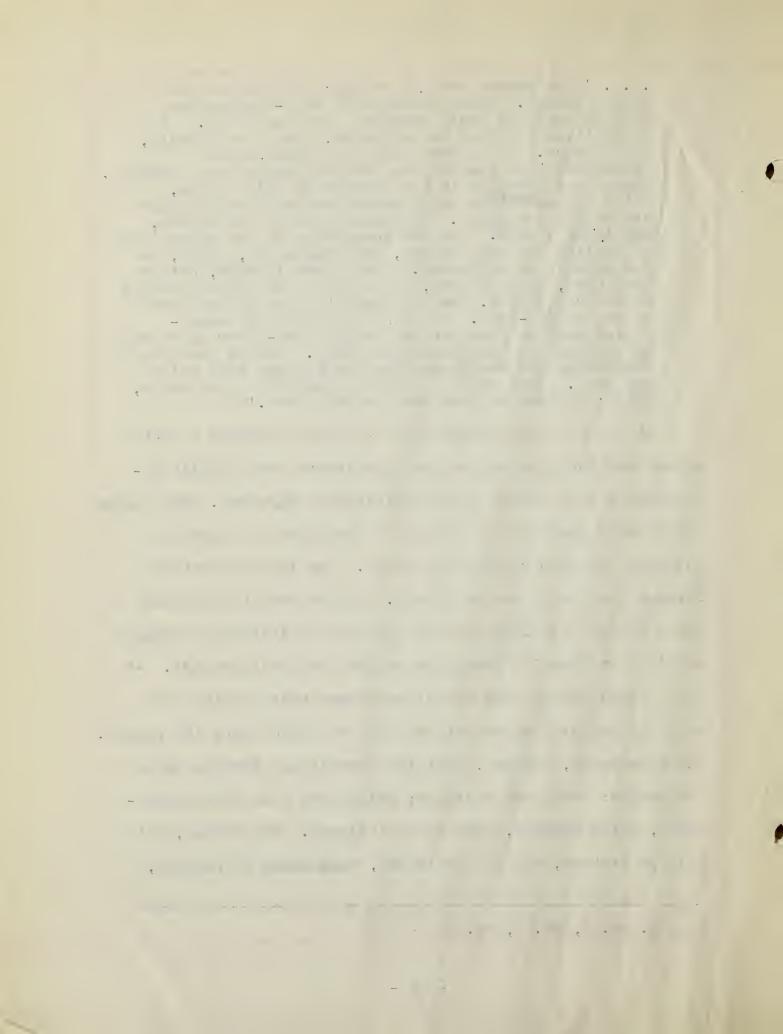
Egremont decided to expound further and communicate his ideas to Sybil whose outlook on life still experienced no change. He informed her that, though the people were at first united in their just cause, they would eventually disunite. Their strength did not lie in themselves. Salvation was to be found through the proper leadership obtainable from the ranks of the aristocracy.

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. . . The Beople are not strong; the People never can be strong. Their attempts at self-vindication will end only in their suffering and confusion. It is civilization that has effected, that is effecting, this change. It is that increased knowledge of themselves that teaches the educated their social duties. There is a daysping in the history of this nation. which perhaps those only who are on the mountain tops can as yet recognize. You deem you are in darkness. and I see a dawn. The new generation of the aristocracy of England are not tyrants, not oppressors, Sybil, as you persist in believing. Their intelligence, better than that, their hearts, are open to the responsibility of their position. But the work that is before them is no holiday-work. It is not the fever of superficial impulse that can remove the deep-fixed barriers of centuries of agnorance and crime. Enough that their sympathies are awakened; time and thought will bring the rest. They are the natural leaders of the People. Sybil; believe me they are the only ones.'1

It was not long before Sybil too had undergone a mental change and had encountered new experiences that finally influenced her to submit to the opinions of Egremont. She fought strenuously against the efforts of her father to carry out plans of sedition against the state. She implored but was refused the assistance of Morely. She learned through word of mouth and her readings that the general uprisings had brought nothing but disunity among the people and their leaders. It was a false thought she always possessed that nothing but unity of purpose and of action could be found among the people. She discovered, however, that the "people had enemies among the people: their own passions; which made them often sympathize, often combine, with the privileged. Her father, with all his virtues, all his abilities, singleness of purpose,

l Ibid. Bk. V, Ch. I, Pp. 337 - 338



and simplicity of aim, encountered rivals in their own Convention, and was beset by open, or still worse, secret foes."

The promulgation of Disraeli's social philosophy through the mouths of Egremont and Sybil was now revealed. He believed that social betterment for the masses would result through youthful leadership of genius from the order of the aristocracy which would use power for the benefit of the people.

¹ Ibid. Bk.V, Ch.I, Pp. 337 - 338

TANCRED

FOREWORD

Some of the experiences of Disraeli before and after his conversion to the Anglican Church, whose tenets he professed and followed throughout a long life, had been strange and varied. Racial descent was the chief barrier in his path to success and power. Maligned and oppressed, he discovered during his early years that respect for the people whose forefathers had been the founders of monotheism was a word and not a fact. Andre Maurois has stated that Disraeli's parents, too, had manifested a repugnance for their own kind. Throughout all his trials and tribulations he had tasted the bitter fruit of prejudice. On the other hand, his Eastern travels had aroused in him an intense joy and pride of race. "The view of Jerusalem is the history of the world; it is more. it is the history of earth and of heaven." Despite his encounters with England's greatest and most arrogant peers. this pride was never shaken. He had fortified himself with a knowledge of the noble contributions to history made by his people and had defended himself and them against attack with the eternal principles that had emanated from the land of Christ's birth. He became, likewise, a staunch supporter

¹ Disraeli, Benjamin, Tancred; or The New Crusade, Peter Davis, London, W. C. 1927, Bradenham Edition, Book III, Ch.IV, P.190

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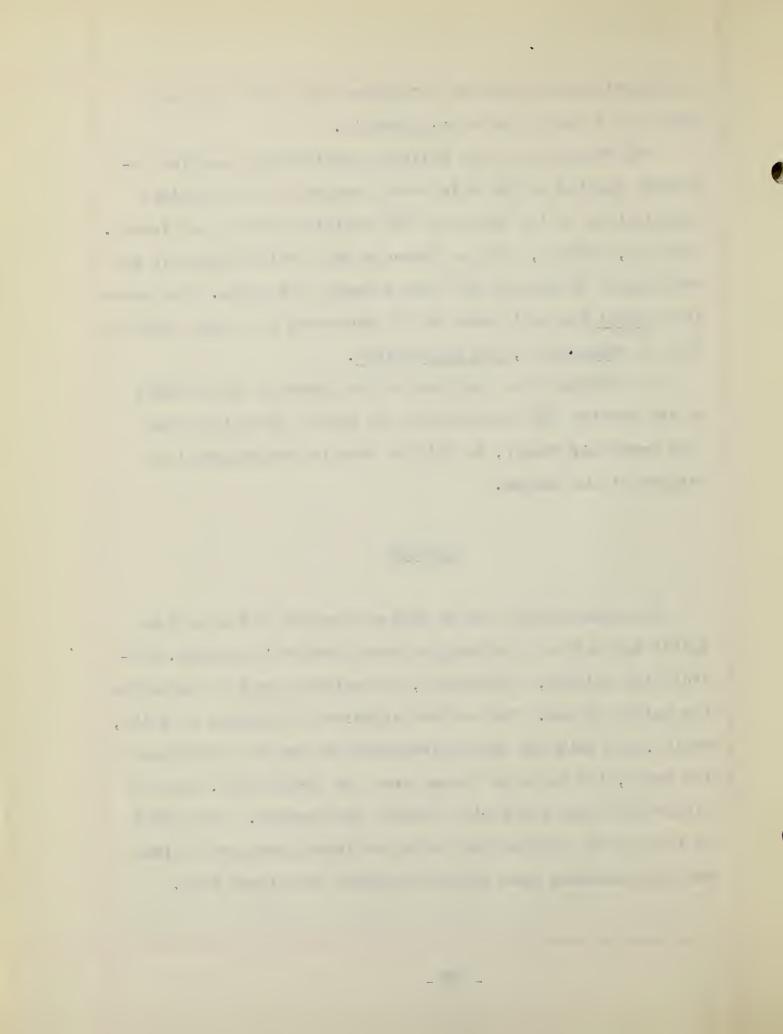
of minority groups when he introduced the characters Mary Dacre and Alroy to the reading public.

The final act of the trilogy contained the powerful influence exerted on the origin and purpose of the religious organization of the nation by the religion and race of Israel. The past, present, and the future status of the Church in the development of England had been strongly set forth. Two years after Sybil the last phase of his endeavors had found fulfillment in Tancred; or, The New Crusade.

To interpret the position of the Church in the affairs of the country and the character of Hebraic principles and race upon this Church, it will be wise to investigate the designs of the author.

PURPOSE

Religious apathy and an obvious decline of the national spirit had stirred the imagination of Tancred's creator. Mid-Victorian science, rationalism, and materialism had subjugated the spirit of man. The ancient universal principles of faith, belief, and duty had been disregarded for the new knowledge of the world, the power of reason over the imagination, and the clamor and haste for earthly wealth and comfort. The advent of this modern realism had dethroned these great maxims from the high pedestal upon which the author had placed them.



Conformity between the old and new teaching was impracticable and impossible. The apparent danger of the latter was that it did not and could not contain the remedial elements for the cure of social anomalies. The precepts of science were both atheistic in concept and antagonistic to great divine truths that had throughout the ages sustained humanity's trials on earth. God. rather than physical force, was the cause of the universe; and creed, rather than learning, had exalted the position of man above that of the pagan. Rationalism, like science, was also a formidable opponent. In the Disraelian interpretation of history a collision between faith and reason had always ended in victory for religious loyalty. Nations that submitted to the strength of the human intellect as the highest of man's attributes had finally experienced physical deterioration and spiritual impoverishment. In short, belief in God superseded credence in the influence of man's reason. On the other hand, the people of the nineteenth century were not wont to think or live along religious lines, and their whole existence was confined to activities that sought material gain. Money was the criterion of success, and the great energies of the nation had been expended solely in the construction of material things. The utilitarian ideal had degraded the moral condition of the people.

These false doctrines were contrary to the religious truths that had found their source and rise in Jerusalem.

. . . • · • The ideas of the Hebrews were divine and controlled the conduct of man. Attempts to defame or destroy the Judaic code of life had always ended in failure and in the destruction of the evildoer. All Christianity rested upon a Hebrew foundation and the Semitic influence was the most powerful in the Christian world. Yet, the Jews through the centuries had suffered the worst of man's inhumanity to man. Disraeli denounced persecution of his people who, as the descendants of the authors of both the Old and New Testaments, had been unjustly denied possession of their homeland. The Christian world was immensely indebted to a people whose influence upon Europe was tremendous, and it was the duty of the Christian to be interested in and sensible of his obligations to a race that had passed on immortal truths.

The author had also made the decision from his study of history that certain races of humanity had made the greatest contributions to the progress of man. His racial theories were inconsistent with those that upheld and concerned equality. He considered convictions for this new doctrine ridiculous because it was his belief that only before God men were equal. For a knowledge of history it was necessary to acknowledge the influence of the superior races upon human destiny. The world's greatest deeds had sprung from the highest races of mankind, and great individuals of genius were the personification of race. The Jews, as an ethnical group, had been preferred by the Almighty to be the trustees

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and messengers of His word on earth. A race designated by divine command to be the guardians and promulgators of eternal truths must be endowed with noble qualities of mind and spirit. Among the different races of which the human family consisted, Disraeli assigned to the Anglo-Saxon, the Greek, and the Semitic, a position of superiority. In Book III the strength of his argument in the words of Sidonia concerning the power and greatness of England ran as follows:

'. . . A Saxon race, protected by an insular position, has stamped its diligent and methodic character on the century. And when a superior race, with a superior idea to Work and Order, advances, its state will be progressive, and we shall, perhaps, follow the example of the desolate countries. All is race; there is no other truth.'

The Christian Church was made possible by its originators and early organizers, the Jews, whose race and religion possessed a potent influence upon and intimate connection with this Church. Because the Anglican Church had been deficient in Hebrew knowledge and principles and led by men without qualifications for the performance of their religious duties, it had helped bring about godlessness and disloyalty in the realm. It was the duty of the Church to inspire the people by upholding Hebrew truths of faith and duty without which no society was durable. He regarded the English Church, the most ancient and strongest of the national institutions and the most powerful instrument in the historical growth of

¹ Ibid. Book II, Ch. XIV, Pp. 152-153

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England, as an excellent means to revive the national spirit of the nation.

RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS

From the author's standpoint the greatest events in the annals of history had taken place in the land of Israel. The eternal laws that had spread from this locality had determined the way of life for all Christendom, and had made an indelible stamp upon the populations of the Western World. On this soil the Hebrew prophets, the last and greatest of whom was the Savior, had revealed unassailable dogmas. Here it was ordained by divine omnipotence that the laws of Moses, the wisdom of Solomon, and reforms of Christ were to act as beacon lights to man in his journey through the darkness of The life and death of Christ had made the history of this region the most renowned in the world. It was the only place on earth where God had spoken to man and where He assumed a human form for the redemption of man's sins. On this spot the real and true definitions of faith and duty could be found. Here also man had been shown that true wisdom lay in his adherence to divine rule in preference to his submission to temporal regulations. Here dwelled the founders of the Asiatic Christian Churches and of the Church of Rome that in time converted the Celt to the Church of Christ. Here

9 • . ę • 1 the Hebrews for centuries had been inspired by their holy books and by their faith which, more powerful and stronger than the sword, had in time conquered the world. The sacred soil of Jerusalem had been the stage for the world's mightiest acts:

. . .which Assyrian monarchs came down to besiege, which the chariots of Pharaohs encompassed, which Roman Emperors have personally assailed, for which Saladin and Coeur de Lion, the Desert and Christendom, Asia and Europe, struggled in rival chivalry; a city which Mahomet sighed to rule, and over which the Creator alike of Assyrian kings and Egyptian Pharaohs and Roman Caesars, the Framer alike of the Desert and of Christendom, poured forth the full effusion of his divinely human sorrow.

The author had seen fit to proclaim that the greatest deeds of history had been accomplished by those who possessed the blood of 'he highest races of man. It was incorrect to credit the various races of humanity with different abilities and talents equal to those of the superior races. He attacked those who differed from his views on the superiority of one race over another and who agnored this "great truth into which all truths merge."

From the Holy Land had sprung four of the worlds most accomplished personalities. From the psalms of David poetry had been written that had no equal. From the legislation of Moses laws issued that governed the world. The wisdom of Solomon, the sovereign, still remains in all nations. And God through Christ, the greatest of all teachers, created

l Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. IV, P. 189 2. Ibid. Bk. VI, Ch. VIII, P. 473

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reforms that affected man's surrender of pagan idolatry for belief in the one God. Because the children of Israel were endowed with the highest human properties, the Almighty had chosen his prophets from them, and He had elected the Hebrews themselves to carry out His message. In the performance of this work the Hebrews had elevated the condition of man from a savage to a civilized state. God had not assigned a task of this magnitude to a race of inferior faculties.

The Greeks, too, celebrated for their intellectual and artistic powers, had no equals. To practice and attain the perfection of Grecian art, it was necessary to be of Grecian stock. Imitation never surpassed the original of Grecian sculpture for which the possession of racial blood was a primary prerequisite. The Hebrew and the Greek, the civilizers of mankind, were the first class citizens of society.

. . Allthe great things have been done by the little nations. It is the Jordan and the Illysus that have civilised the modern races. An Arabian tribe, a clan of the AEgean, have been the promulgators of all our knowledge; and we should never have heard of the Pharaohs, of Babylon the great and Nineveh the superb, of Cyrus and of Xerxes, had not it been for Athens and Jerusalem.1

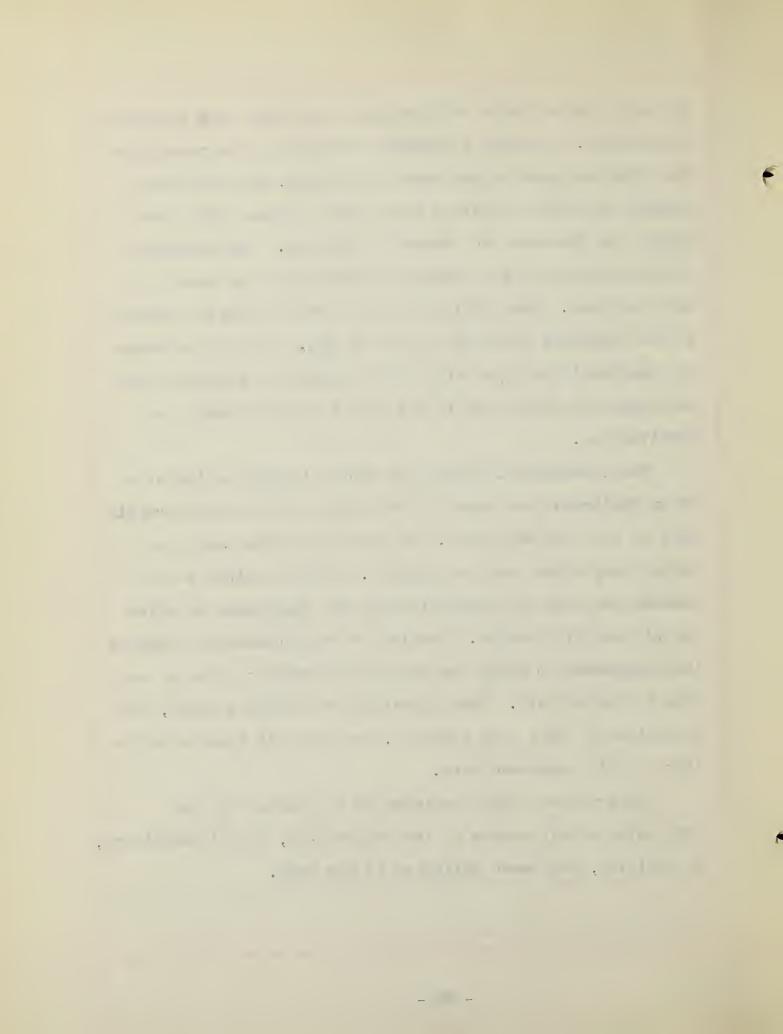
Despite the unparalleled and unsurpassed achievements of the Israelites, its members had been made the target of the most inhuman cruelities. Expatriated from their homeland, they experienced degradation and oppression. Practically every nation that accepted and permitted residence to the Jews

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. VII, P. 236

ę a a • 3 · · · · · · had some time or other visited upon them brutal and barbarous punishments. Attempts to destroy the Jew and the principles for which he stood always ended in failure, and those who engaged in these atrocities would meet the same fate that befell the Pharaohs and Caesars - oblivion. The Jews were living examples of the strength of faith and the power of a superior race. The civilization of a state could be measured in the treatment it meted out to the Jew. Rather than abuse the Hebrews it was the duty of the Christian to befriend and encourage the assistance of a people to whom he owed his civilization.

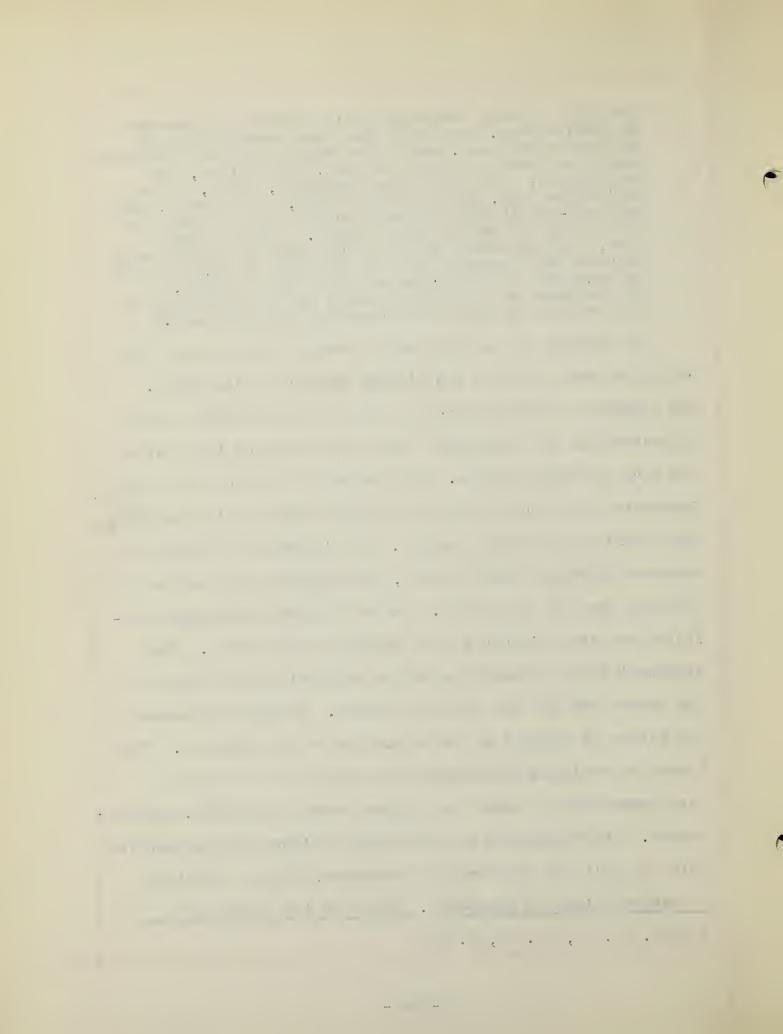
The tremendous influence of Hebrew thought on the life of an Englishman was shown by the fact that the most favorite poet in the land was David. No people on earth sang his psalms more often than the English. The literature of the Hebrews had been the inspiration of the Englishman by which he obtained his freedom. The laws of the Hebrews had enabled the Englishman to enjoy one day out of seven as a day of rest from a week of toil. The foundation of English society, the protection of life and property, was entirely based upon the laws of this oppressed race.

The greatest injury suffered by the author was the oppression of his people by the English who, of all Christians, he believed, were most obligated to the Jews.



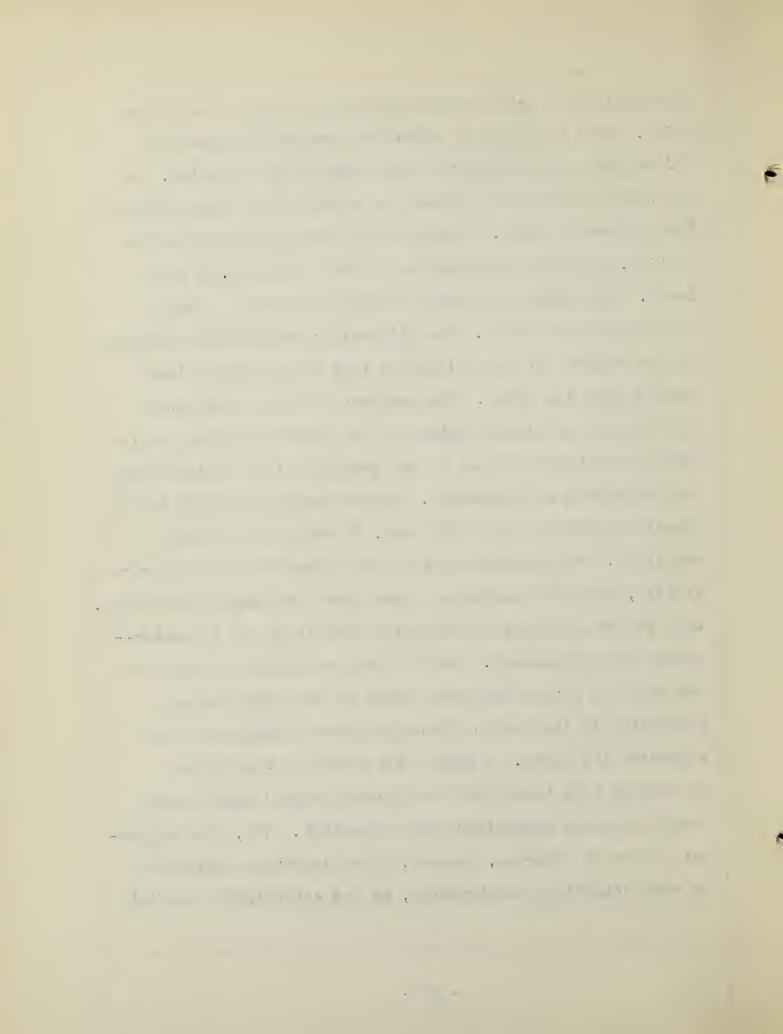
Then why do these Saxon and Celtic societies persecute an Arabian race, from whom they have adopted laws of sublime benevolence, and in the pages of whose literature they have found perpetual delight, instruction, and consolation? That is a great question, which, in an enlightened age, may be fairly asked, but to which even the self-complacent nineteenth century would find some difficulty in contributing a reply. Does it stand thus? Independently of their admirable laws which have elevated it; independently of their heroic history which has animated us to the pursuit of public liberty, we are indebted to the Hebrew people for our knowledge of the true God and for the redemption from our sins. I

The England of the nineteenth century prided itself upon being the most powerful and richest country in the world. The conquest of foreign markets and the improvements created by scientific and industrial inventions had made this island the envy of other nations. This material age had made a deep impression upon the minds of the English whose daily pursuits were confined to earthly things. The importance of money was stressed above all other values, and temporal ease and wealth had been the cry of the age. The old landed aristocracy hesitated and then yielded to the demands of the times. The steamboat and railroad created the realization that man was the master and not the slave of nature. Science had opened new vistas of thought on the mysteries of the universe. The theory of evolution concerning the origin of man and his development from a lower to a higher animal contested religious truths. The Englishman now worshipped science and the machine which he felt had elevated his countrymen from a condition of superstituon and ignorance. Prior to the advent of 1 Ibid. Bk. IV, Ch. IV, P. 274



materialism and science the Englishman had been a religious being, whose thoughts and existence were strengthened and influenced by the principles that arose from Jerusalem. He now became a convert to greed and avarice and turned his eyes from heaven to earth. Happiness was found in bodily satisfaction, and his confidence was placed in the utilitarian ideal. Our author had become disconsolate over a people who belittled religion. The differences between the practices of the English and the principles that once affected their lives became too great. The prophets of Israel who once held a place of highest esteem in the hearts and minds of the English had been replaced by the protagonists of science and the proponents of Benthamism. Unless England returned to and upheld the ideas of the Holy Land, it would never find happiness. The utilitarian ideal was temporary and not everlasting, while the maxims of Christ were permanent and eternal. Only in the adherence to Christian principles was there happiness and contentment. Materialism was unable to cope with the infinite truths and great ideas of the Hebrew which originated in the land of Jerusalem where Christianity had witnessed its birth. A people who followed other rules of conduct than those that have proved eternal would bring upon themselves unhappiness and discontent. Yet, the Englishman "talks of progress, because, by an ingenious application of some scientific acquirements, he has established a society

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which has mistaken comfort for civilisation."1

Before the people of England became susceptible to the inventions of modern science, visits to the Holy Land were not uncommon. They realized the close affinity between their beliefs and conduct of life with the principles that rose from the land of Christ, of the Apostles, and of miracles.

They believed that this land in which their nedeemer was born and died possessed powers unlike their own. The relationship between England and Jerusalem was closer than modern man admitted. There were those who denied the truths born in the land that civilized mankind and desired to prove to the world that the laws of Moses and of Christ were mere tales. At the close of the eighteenth century the strongest nation in Europe, France, renowned for its intellectual powers, revolted against and attempted to dissociate itself from the influence of Jerusalem.

. . . The most powerful and the most civilised of its kingdoms, about to conquer the rest, shut up its churches, desecrated its altars, massacred and persecuted their sacred servants, and announced that the Hebrew creeds which Simon Peter brought from Palestine, and which his successors revealed to Clovis, were a mockery and a fiction. What has been the result? In every city, town, village and hamlet of that great kingdom, the divine image of the most illustrious of Hebrews has been again raised amid the homage of kneeling millions; while, in the heart of its bright and witty capital, the nation has erected the most gorgeous of modern temples, and consecrated its marble and golden walls to the name, and memory, and celestial efficacy of a Hebrew woman.²

l Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. VII, P. 233

² Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. I, P. 176

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The acts of the Church in the affairs of the nation had not equalled the advances made by the efforts of the materialists. The influence of civil authority over the lives of the inhabitants had gained the ascendancy over the power of the Church. For those who held the political reigns the religious body became the means to extend and increase this strength. It had aligned itself with political factions that had little or no concern for the common man. The high offices of the Church were occupied by a favored incompetent few of a spoiled aristocracy who were unlearned and un familiar with the eternal Hebrew doctrines upon which the Church was founded. The Church had become an institution without principle or creed and from which the people could neither expect leadership nor guidance. The position of the Church was upon the faith and loyalty of the people. A manifest disloyalty and infidelity had led to the decline of the national spirit. The Church was an organization to maintain the principles of Sinai, Calvary, and the Apostles. That it failed to uphold these principles and carry out its duties was evident by the low esteem in which it was held and by the men of mediocre abilities who controlled its important offices. The sole purpose of the Anglican Church had been the promotion of a fund to be used for the conversion of Ireland to the true faith of Protestantism. "It was then an established doctrine. that all that was necessary for Ireland was more Protestantism,

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Irish with Protentantism than it had proved, in the instance
of a recent famine, 1822, to furnish them with potatoes.

What was principally wanted in both cases were, subscriptions."

To consummate this fallacious ideal the bishop of the Church of England had risen from his seat in the House of Lords and denounced any who might stand in his way to enlighten Ireland. He lacked the leadership and wisdom necessary to bear and carry out the duties of his priestly office. A product of the nobility his only requirements had been that of a private tutor to a university student and the superintendency of a Greek play.

analysis, the bustling intermeddler was unable to supply society with a single solution. Enenciating second-hand, with characteristic precipitation, some big principle in vogue, as if he were a discoverer, he invariably shrank from its subsequent application, the moment that he found it might be unpopular and inconvenient. All his quandaries terminated in the same catastrophe; a compromise. Abstract principles with him ever ended in concrete expediency. The aggregate of circumstances outweighed the isolated cause. The primordial tenet, which had been advocated with uncompromising arrogance, gently subsided into some second rate measure recommended with all the artifice of an impenetrable ambiguity.2

Tancred, of the House of Montacute, an old and estal lished family of the nobility, was an ardent, serious, and highly intelligent youth. From birth, according to the practice of the aristocracy to perpetuate themselves in power, his life had been directed to the time when he would be eligible for

l Ibid. Bk, II, Ch. IV, P. 71 2 Ibid. Bk. II, Ch. IV, P. 74

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a seat in parliament. In line with this policy, his parents, when he had attained proper age to commence his political career, were startled to hear from his own lips that there was nothing in the society of his day to attract his support. Unknown to his parents. Tancred had meditated for years upon the degenerate state of the nation. He had become melancholy over the deficiency of principle and faith in the institutions and life of his times. He disdained to join an aristocracy that endeavored to uphold the present order of things because he feared that in time it would meet the same fate it had meted out to the monarch, usurpation of his prerogatives. To Tancred, a way of life that made money the criterion of a people's welfare was false and dangerous. He felt it had created a double standard of conduct in the realm. That was considered moral for the rich was looked upon as immoral for the poor. The great differences that existed between Capital and Labor had made the poor completely dependent upon the rich for support. The apparent vices of the middle class had been due to the evil influence of money. Lastly, the influence of modern materialism had degraded the aristocracy.

Scientific inroads no less than materialistic advances into contemporary England had also helped to create social degeneracy. New scientific theories had challenged age-old biblical truths, and had erroneously explained the creation of the universe and its creatures. In a conversation with

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a Lady Constance, a member of fashionable society, on the subject of a book entitled, The Revelations of Chaos, with which he was not acquainted but about which he heard, Tancred discovered the solid impressions made upon a supposedly intelligent person by modern scientific literature. To this lady the many perplexities that had confounded her concerning the mysteries of the heavens and of the earth had been thoroughly and irrefutably elucidated. Positive about and confirmed in its orthodox views she summed up her reactions as follows:

You understand, it is all science; it is not like those books in which one says one thing and another the contrary, and both may be wrong. Everything is proved; by geology, you know. You see exactly how everything is made; how many worlds there have been; how long they lasted; what went before, what comes next. We are a link in the chain, as inferior animals were that preceded us: we in turn shall be inferior; all that will remain of us will be some relics in a new sandstone. This is development. We had fins; we may have wings.'

The ideals for which Tancred searched, faith and duty, were entirely wanting in the claims made by science. He had observed from a history of his family that six hundred years previously an ancestor had joined the Crusade to protect the Holy Land from the infidel. Before the Holy Sepulchre, a De Montacute had kneeled and had obtained inspiration and faith, the prerequisites for any lasting society. At that time the people of England realized their dependence for security and

¹ Ibid. Bk. II, Ch. IX, P. 113

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happiness rested upon the principles that rose from the Holy Land. The relationship then between the land of the Celts and the soil of the Hebrews was not so distant as it was in the nineteenth century. The truths for which Tancred longed were absent in modern Anglicanism. In the past man had sought for and had submitted to divine command, and in the present he had imposed upon himself his own rules of government. The Church, the representative of God on earth, instead of regulating the conduct of man, had fallen before the will of civil authority and was looked upon with disdain by the people. Tancred had become moody and sorrowful because crusades to the Holy Land were no longer in fashion. He desired a closer conformity between Hebrew principles and English practices of life. No knowing what to believe or what to do, he became confused and determined, therefore, to find faith and inspiration in the country that witnessed the birth of Christianity.

In his new environment Tancred had made the acquaintance of a beautiful and intelligent Jewess with whom he had entered into and aired very seriously views and thoughts on problems that have beset Christians and Jews alike for centuries. Our hero immediately detected that Eva's knowledge of Europe and of Christianity was not limited. She had spent several months in Vienna and had diligently read and studied material on the life of Christ. Though she agreed with many things in her readings, she believed there was still much to be desired. The Christianity she understood from her perusals differed

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radically from Christian practice. On matters of faith she refused Tancred's suggestion to allow the Christian Church to be her guide. The many sects in the Christian Church made it extremely difficult to discover its true orthodox belief. The Latin, Armenian, Abbyssinian, Greek, Maronite, and Coptic Churches made the choice deeply involved. She preferred. therefore, to remain within the fold of her own religion which was not only older than the Christian but one in which the Saviour of man had lived and died. Eva differed strongly with Tancred that the state of the Jews was one of retribution for having rejected and crucified Christ, the Messiah of mankind. According to Tancred the Jews were a cursed race for their part in the crucifixion and for their steadfast adherence to their own traditions. On the other hand, Eva argued that all Jews were not responsible for the death of Christ when she replied:

'. . . We were originally a nation of twelve tribes; ten, long before the advent of Jesus, had been carried into captivity and scattered over the East and the Mediterranean world; they are probably the source of the greater portion of the existing Hebrew; for we know that, even in the time of Jesus, Hebrews came up to Jerusalem at the Passover from every province of the Roman Empire. What had they to do with the crucifixion or the rejection?'l

Aside from this fact his youthful companion added that it was both dishonorable and unreasonable to place the judgment of retribution upon the modern Jews who were, of course, absent at the time of the crucifixion. To Eva it

¹ Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. IV, Pp. 196 - 197

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was paradoxial and illogical that the Christian residents of Jerusalem, who admitted and professed belief in the Jewish origin of their Lord and Saviour, despised her though she was of the same race and religion.

To avoid carrying a delicate point any further Tancred confessed that the history of the Jews had always fascinated and astounded him. He considered their state in the world extraordinary, miraculous, and radically different from that of other people. This fact did not amaze Eva as much as it did Tancred, nor did she feel the condition of the Jews strange. She felt the Chosen People had been protected and favored by the Almighty because He had made them superior ot the peoples with whom they came in contact. The Jews were living human monuments of the great historical past that mystified and bewildered the mind of man. Denied the liberties conferred upon others, they remained a successful and flourishing minority throughout the world. Exiled from their own soil, residents of alien lands, the Jews, alone of the ancient races, remained. On the other hand, Eva enlightened Tancred that expatriation, a custom of the Orient unknown to the modern world, had sustained the Jews. Any people driven from their homeland will strive with all their faculties.to carry on their traditions and never become assimilated with their neighbors. Disintegration took place among the defeated not driven from their country. The Armenians, like the Jews,

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owed their existence to the custom of expatriation. These people, conquered and exiled from their land by the Persians, had remained sturdy and successful throughout all parts of the East.

In another phase of the discourse Eva attacked the effectiveness of the curse upon European Jews. Tancred had reluctantly conceded that money was the most valued thing in England and Europe. He also agreed that the two wealthiest men in London and Paris were Jews. He admitted that European nations depended upon the people of her race for financial support. According to Eva any people who wielded this kind of influence should not be considered cursed. To conclude the discussion Eva impressed upon Tancred the fact that without the intervention of the Hebrew people there never would have been a Son of God to sacrifice His life for the redemption of man's sins. It was unjust and unchristian to persecute a people who contributed so greatly toward the welfare of man.

By means of these two characters, representatives of two great nations and religions, Disraeli illustrated some of his thoughts on Christianity and Judaism. In the opinion of the writer, he desired to make clear the inseparableness of the two and the complete dependence of the first upon the second. He believed that the followers of Christ professed no more than the religion of the Hebrews. The Christian Church was a corporation or instrument by which the great

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masses of mankind carried out the Judaic doctrines. On the other hand, the materialistic creed that had swept throughout Europe and England had shaken the faith of the people in the great principles of the past. Before the skepticism of the nineteenth century had taken hold of the minds of men, Christians had been ardent disciples of principles that had always guided and regulated their lives. On the subject of the Jews the curse that had fallen upon them since the crucifixion was futile, and they had by their superior abilities and capacities outlived many of their enemies and endured trials under which a less hardy race would have perished. The author believed God had protected the Hebrews by endowing them with unequalled human faculties. It was not an ordinary event for God to have chosen the Hebrews as his medium for the accomplishment of the Divine Will. To continue the proof further, the Almighty had come down to earth in the human flesh of the Saviour, a member of the chosen Hebrew race, to intercede for the sins of man and to strike at evil. The oppression of the Hebrew people, therefore, whose magnanimous deeds helped and influenced the course of mankind. was grave, intolerable, and unjust.

One thought remained with Tancred after his departure from Eva. He had informed her that he had never harbored thoughts against or persecuted the people of her race. Thus far his short stay in the Holy Land had aroused in him to a greater degree than he had experienced in England a

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curiosity and interest in the land and in the people of Israel. Every place and scene he witnessed exemplified a mysterious and great past which he tried to analyze but which still confused his strong and intelligent mind. He felt. however, that the land on which he stood was unusual and different from that of all other nations. History had been made here that influenced and guided the minds of men. Though perplexed he was disgusted to think that modern man no longer interested himself in or cared for the land and principles from which he received eternal values. He had made the long and arduous journey from his native country to the sacred nation of Jerusalem to penetrate the mysterious past when God had conversed with representatives of the Chosen People to receive and hear like them inspiration and heavenly voices. To achieve this purpose Tancred, prior to making acquaintance with Eva, had prostrated himself before the Holy Sepulchre and had made a visit to Gethsemane. The voices he aspired to hear were not heard, and the inspiration he craved was not received. However, he had left these two hallowed spots with an uplifted spirit and a deep comfort that he had previously in life never experienced. At the same time he was profoundly chagrined to think that "Christendom cares nothing for that tomb now, has indeed forgotten its own name, and calls itself enlightened Europe. But enlightened Europe is not happy. Its existence is a fever, which it calls

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progress. Progress to what?"1

Unhappily, however, because his visits to the tomb of Christ and the garden of Gethesmane had not fulfilled his desires, a feeling of melancholy had engulfed him. He became morbid over the thought that all his efforts had been in vain. He reluctantly concluded that he was an alien in a foreign land with which he had no connection. He often inquired from himself the reason for his presence in a land thousands of miles away from his home. On the other hand, he discarded all these hostile ideas because he felt his efforts were justified when he realized that "Arabian laws regulated his life. And the wanderings of an Arabian tribe in this 'great and terrible wilderness! under the immediate direction of the Creator, sanctified by his miracles, governed by his counsels, illumined by his presence, had been the first and guiding history that had been entrusted to his young intelligence, from which it had drawn its first pregnant examples of human conduct and divine interposition, and formed its first dim conceptions of the relations between man and God."2 Strengthened by these convictions he defended his presence in the Holy Land and set his course for Mt. Sinai, sacred to both Christian and Jew, where three thousand years before his birth the conduct of man had been recorded. With this aim in mind our hero anticipated the reception of divine guidance

l Ibid. Bk. III, Ch. VII, P. 231 2 Ibid. Bk. IV, Ch. IV, P. 273

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and ascended the mountain to the consecrated locality that had witnessed the eternal commandments. He poured forth the full confessions of his soul on the degenerate state of contemporary Europe, and professed that faith and duty had been shaken by skepticism and materialism. He requested reasons for the absence of prophets and divine commands in the nineteenth century which had in the past been the guide and hope of man. The answer to his despair had arrived in the form of a heavenly vision that immediately revealed the dominant position of the Holy Land and its eternal influence upon the world. Hebrew principles and ideas, mightier and more lasting than the sword, regulated the conduct and the mind of man. The nations over which Tancred mourned had in the early stages of history been no more than forests inhabited by barbarians whose civilization and conversion to Christ had been effected through the intervention of Judaism. It had been decreed by the Almighty that Roman dictators were to conquer the world so that the Mosaic law, the basis of all civilization, could be inscribed in the Vatican and so that a Hebrew, the Son of God, could subdue Roman tyrants with the majestic and omnipotent principles of His religion. The voice then continued with these lasting and guiding words that satisfied the desires and aims of Tancred.

'Yet again, and Europe is in the throes of a great birth. The multitudes again are brooding; but they are not now in the forest; they are in the cities and in the fertile plains. Since the first sun of this

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century rose, the intellectual colony of Arabia, once called Christendom, has been in a state of partial and blind revolt. Discontented, they attributed their suffering to the principles to which they owed all their happiness, and in receding from which they had become proportionally miserable. They have hankered after other gods than the God of Sinai and of Calvary. and they have achieved only desolation. Now they despair. But the eternal principles that controlled barbarian vigour can alone cope with morbid civilisation. The equality of man can only be accomplished by the sovereignty of God. The longing for fraternity can never be satisfied but under the sway of a common father. The relations between Jehovah and his creatures can be neither too numerous nor too near. In the increased distance between God and man have grown up all those developments that have made life mournful. Cease, then, to seek in a vain philosophy the solution of the social problem that perplexes you. Announce the sublime and solacing doctrine of theocratic equality. Fear not, faint not, falter not. Obey the impulse of thine own spirit, and find a ready instrument in every human being.'1

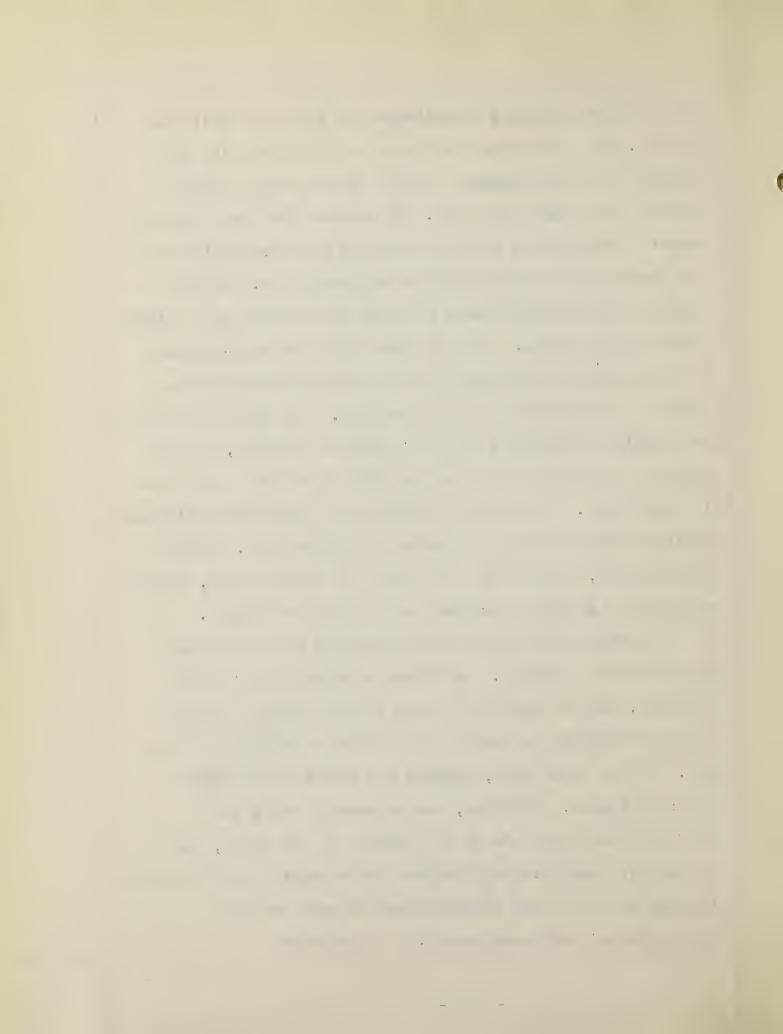
After his departure from the Mount a complete transformation had overtaken our pilgrim. The information and advice of the visionary had created much food for thought and at the same time had greatly stimulated his imagination. He realized now that man's happiness lay in the majestic achievements of the past rather than in the godless philosophies of the present. The ancient principles of faith contained the needed impulse for the regeneration of man's spirit. He attributed the miseries of the modern era to the absence of religious reverence. The atheistic and cynical doctrines rampant in Europe and in his own native land, if allowed to continue, would in time strengthen the melancholy and deepen the wounds that afflicted the world. The claims of contemporary ideolo-

l Ibid. Bk. IV, Ch. VII, Pp. 299-300

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gies were not adequate substitutes for religious faith and loyalty. Tancred became convinced and inspired with the thought that discouragement may be turned to joy through closer relationship with God. He yearned for the return of monastic communities which at one time governed society and the absence of which had created national ills. In the monastic social system work was done for its own sake without any thought of gain. Life in those days was self-denying and the monk had conformed his activities chiefly for the welfare and happiness of the community. The idea of stability and fixity was foremost in the tenure of property, and the monk and community were bound to each other from generation to generation. This form of society was based upon religious motives which led man to a purer and higher life. Modern civilization, because of the absence of divine truth, created a condition of moral decadence and religious impiety.

Scientific and material developments had made modern man proud and arrogant. He became obsessed with his own strength, and he attained a state of mind that led him to believe there was no power in the universe superior to his own. On the other hand, despite the obvious differences in intelligence, abilities, and endowments among the various races that made up the peoples of the earth, man erroneously and mistakenly strove for equality and fraternity through his own human influence and by means of his own forms of self-government. To reach



this goal a theocratic feudal social system in which man and God were in close alignment was mandatory. Tancred acceded to the fact that the predominant thoughts of the world had originated in the land of Moses and of Christ. It was his hope to witness and experience a revival of these truths. In this manner the proper and necessary changes would take place in the institutions and activities of nineteenth century life and at the same time reanimate and uplift the spirit of the people. Since the dawn of history man has admitted the eternal and dominant position of Hebrew principles within the realm of the spirit. Because the world has seceded from and disregarded these values and truths that have governed the human race, it has fallen into a state of servitude and discontent. The England he loved and the Church in which he received his baptismal rites had fallen prey to untruthfulness and infidelity. The misery and havoc experienced by the people had been the result of their firm adherence to the power of temporal things in preference to those that have always been considered eternal. The need of all mankind was truth and the conviction that God once again should solace the spirit and guide the destiny of the human race.

The essential requirement for the truth Tancred defined to a companion of his, a non-Jew who had spent all his years in Jerusalem. Fakrecden had understood from his English associate that Moses had received the truth at Mount Sinai and since that memorable moment God had conversed with the

· · great prophets of Israel.

'Of whom Jesus was one,' said Tancred; 'the descendant of King David as well as the Son of God. But through this last and greatest of their princes it was ordained that the inspired Hebrew mind should mould and govern the world. Through Jesus God spoke to the Gentiles, and not to the tribes of Israel only. That is the great worldly difference between Jesus and his inspired predecessors. Christianity is Judaism for the multitude but still it is Judaism, and its development was the death-blow of the Pagan idoltry.'

With a firm knowledge of the truth he professed to himself the desirability of a theocratic form of government in which equality and fraternity were realized in theory as well as in practice. He concluded that the government of the earth must be derived from a higher power than that of man, and the spark to set this machinery in motion could only come from Jerusalem, the origin and birth of truth. Modernistic doctrines that announced the equality of man were the antithesis of the superiority and influence of race upon human action. They had brought about the end of feudalism without having supplanted it with a proper substitute.

l Ibid. Bk. VI, Ch. IV, P.439

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CONCLUSION

It had been the intention of Disraeli to divulge simultaneously the political, social, and religious plight of England and his philosophy on the same subject in the form of a literary trilogy. This theme he treated and elaborated upon in each of the three novels, <u>Coningsby</u>, <u>Sybil</u>, and <u>Tancred</u>. Deeply preoccupied with the historical development and contemporary status of political parties, he exposed the influence these parties had upon the predicament of the people and disclosed methods for the attainment of the moral and physical happiness of the populace.

that were concerned with government, and his writings had made known his conclusions to the public. He pointed out that the supreme power of the state had fallen into the hands of a greedy few and that the religious establishment, which professed itself the guardian and educator of the people, had been subject to the domination of an avaricious aristocracy. He attacked the false aims of and the criminal means by which both leading parties had achieved strength. The Tory regime, restricted and limited, had presented itself as the national party, while a Whig group, exclusive and illiberal, exhibited itself as the popular and liberal party.

ę ę 2 7 2 e . ę • ς ς • Disraeli's novels were his method of propaganda to educate the people to the fact that the institutions of the nation were their bulwarks of protection. In his writings he continuously voiced his views that the basis of all good government was that property ownership entailed obligations and duties to the people.

A large part of Disraelian doctrine had been aimed at the Church of England which in the past had been the spiritual and intellectual mainstay of the nation. Together the rights of the monarch and of the people had grown and in proportion to the usurpation of these rights by selfish political parties they had deteriorated. Whiggism had been the germ that set in motion the decay of national institutions. The people, uneducated and without privileges, had witnessed the advance of science and the increase of wealth and comfort among the rich, but at the same time they beheld their own destitute condition.

In the trilogy Disraeli deeply involved himself with three important factors: the aristocracy, the people, and the Church. By these novels he revealed his purpose that there should be a nobility conscious of its obligations to the people and the monarch, that labor should have rights as well as property, and that there should be a reappearance of ancient truths within the Church which would not only in theory but also in practise act as the protector of the people. For him

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the political agency to realize national felicity was a

Tory party reconstructed upon the ideals of government of the
eighteenth century under the able and wise rule of Lord

Bolingbroke for whom Disraeli's literature showed profound
reverence.



ABSTRACT

The object of my thesis was to show Benjamin Disraeli's concern with politics, his life long application to the work of government, the struggle that raged within him during his early years between his choice for a political or a literary career, and the manner in which he appied his views in his writings.

The method I followed to obtain the required material was a thorough analysis of each of the three novels of the trilogy, Coningsby, Sybil, and Tancred. The fundamental and basic ideas of the author on the political, social, and religious fields were carefully interpreted and included. In this part of my endeavors I have explained all material concerning the weaknesses of the aristocracy, the position of the monarch, the helplessness of the people, the corrupt state of the Church, and the means by which the cure for national ills was possible.

At the outset I have devoted a part of the thesis to the lineage and youthful years of the author. Thus, the early experiences, the political adventures, and the first ten years of a parliamentary career have been thoroughly illustrated.

Part two concerned itself with his early literary

ę ę . ٠. ę ę . • character. I have described the varied and unrestrained literary desires, ambitions, influence, and position of the author in the realm of satires, political pamphlets, poetry, and novels.

The final part of the thesis was divided into three sections, all of which dealt with the philosophies in his trilogy. The first, Coningsby, had been the consequence of a suggestion made by his dear friend, Henry Hope, a member of the Young England Party and at whose residence at Deepdene the work had been begun. In this novel Disraeli developed his thoughts on the origin and condition of political parties. He assailed the demoralizing character the Whigs and Tories had upon the nation and denounced each for having arrogated unto themselves the powers of the King. He interpreted in the sentiment of the people the desire for a monarch in whom class interest and class favoritism were completely absent.

The second section, <u>Sybil</u>, treated the same subject, but its pages this time were directed upon the condition of the people. Sympathetic and deeply interested in the destitute, Disraeli had read all the important material on the Chartist agitation. After he had personally visited every locality described in his novel and had seen for himself the deplorable state of the economically and socially handicapped which had been the effect of political parties, he was determined to reveal to all that England was divided into two nations - the

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rich and the poor. Today Sybil remains a landmark for all those who wish material on the condition of the people in the Mid-Victorian era.

The third section, Tancred, pointed out the powerful influence of the Church in the historical growth of England and at the same time recognized in this organization the machinery for the revivification of the national spirit. While on this subject Disraeli included the origin of the Church and its close relationship with the Mebrew people. In these discussions he evolved his ethnological theories by which means he analyzed the result of race upon the course of human events. His racial ideas were contrary to modern views that asserted the equality of man. He strongly announced his antagonism for government that disregarded the quality of imagination for the attribute of reason. He emphatically voiced his opinions that man was a spiritual creature who longed for close relations with God. No matter how great the discoveries of science or the effect upon civilization by treason, man always turned to the Almighty for truth and guidance. The full import of its pages signified that faith and duty were the absolute essentials of a successful society.

Disraeli had always been a student of government and employed his intelligence to create a state in conformity with the traditions of the people. His trilogy was an attempt

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to bring about a form of rule that would satisfy English national character.



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